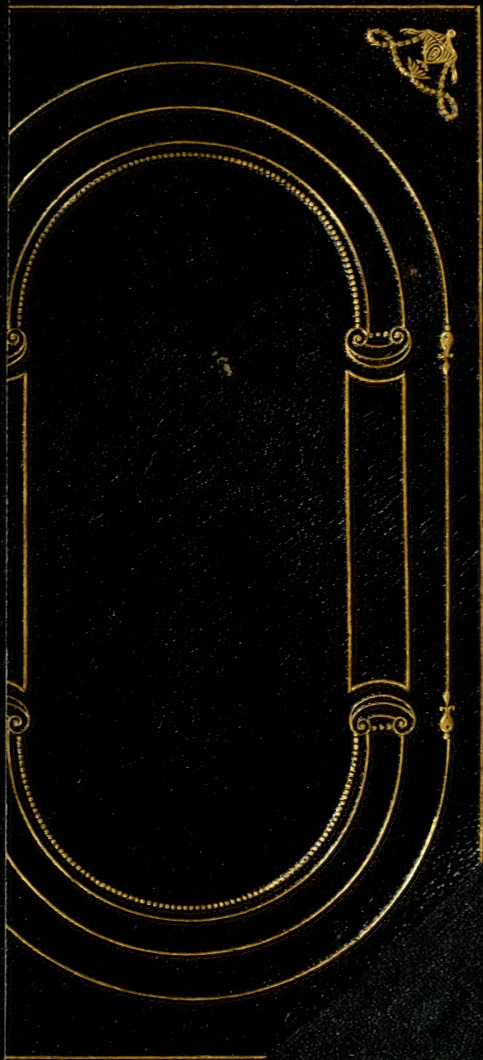




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C. K. OGDEN

A PARÆNESIS.

OR

SEASONABLE EXHORTATORY

TO

ALL TRUE SONS

OF THE

Church of England.

BY H. HAMMOND, D.D.



OXFORD:

JOHN HENRY PARKER.

MDCCCXLI.

A
P A R Æ N E S I S.

OR
Seasonable Exhortatory
TO ALL
TRUE SONS
of the
CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Wherein is inserted a Discourse
of HÆRESY
in defence of our Church against
the Romanist.

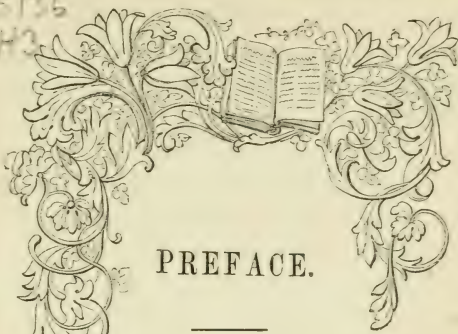
By H. HAMMOND. D.D.

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PREFACE.

ALTHOUGH, in the judgment of every instructed member of the English Church, it must be deemed unnecessary to assign reasons for republishing any of Hammond's works, it may nevertheless be right to explain why from so many valuable treatises the following has been singled out.

The Parænesis was written, as we learn from Bishop Fell, in the year 1655, on the publication of the interdict which forbid the Clergy of the Church to exercise any spiritual function^a. By that tyrannical and persecuting edict of a

^a Hammond's Life by Bishop Fell, prefixed to Hammond's Works, vol. i. p. 19.

faction professing civil and religious liberty, the penalty of imprisonment was denounced for the first and second offence, and deportation for the third, against such of the Priesthood as should fulfil their Apostolical mission^b. This cruelty was carried to a still further pitch. It was declared unlawful for all persons to “keep in their houses or families, as Chaplains or Schoolmasters for the education of their children, any sequestered or rejected Minister, Fellow of a College, or Schoolmaster, or permit any of their children to be taught by such, upon pain of being proceeded against^c.”

On the promulgation of this disgraceful interdict, Dr. Hammond wrote the Treatise now reprinted: of which Bishop Fell speaks in the following passage: “Among all his labours, although polemic discourses were otherwise most uneasy as engaging to converse with men in passion, a thing he naturally abhorred, his Parænesis, a persuasive and practical Tract, which now he wrote, and which upon that

^b Parænesis, ch. vi. 33.

^c Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 124.

account was exceeding agreeable to his desires, cost him such throes and pangs of birth, as having been penned first in tears and then in ink^d."

The present state of the English Church is happily most unlike its condition at the time this Treatise was written. It must not therefore be imagined, that any such parallel is intended by the republication of it. But at the same time, the question whether or no the like premonitory notes which gave warning of our last chastisement may be now again heard by watching ears, is a matter to be much pondered by thoughtful minds. In the last ten years, the Church has undergone, in all points which afford to politicians a plea of laying hands upon her system, a most signal trial; and it is not too much to say, that her assailants have met on all sides as signal a repulse. The civil powers and privileges of the Church, were perhaps never more safe than now; and, by the confession of those who most desire openly to innovate upon her system,

^d Life by Bishop Fell, p. 19.

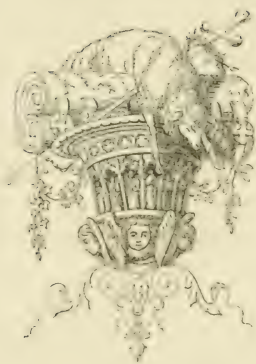
the opportunity for their experiments is past. They are compelled to acknowledge themselves both baffled and surprised, by the steady putting forth of her great power, and the fastness of her hold upon the hearts of the people of England. But the outward strength and safety of the Church, is worse than vain, as fostering a miserable self-deceit, if there be a wasting away in the energy of her spiritual life within; for it is not by the political or popular strength of the Church we stand. We are bound to thank Him, in Whose hand are the hearts of Princes and the affections of the people, whensoever His Church in this land rests securely in her relations to the Civil Powers and to the English nation; but that which is above all worthy of a Catholic Christian's most earnest care, is the relation of the English Church to the universal Church of God on earth, and above all to her Divine Head in Heaven. He will fear only a schismatical position or a taint of heresy, as that which can alone cloud from her the countenance of her Lord. He will know that it is only by holding

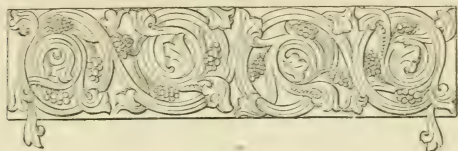
fast our identity with the Catholic Church of all ages, that we can hold fast our mystical union with Him. And he will feel too, that no man can calculate what may be the accumulating result in one or two generations, not only of an heretical or schismatical principle if admitted in our day, but of an heretical or schismatical temper, even while we maintain unimpaired the deposit of Catholic truth.

It is because the following Parænesis, in a most searching and awakening tone, brings out this great rule of our probation, that it has been thought right to lay it again before the members of the Church.

October 13. 1840.







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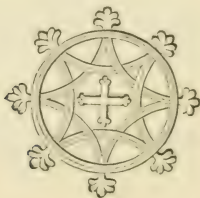
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A PARÆNESIS,

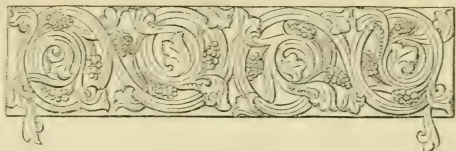
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TO ALL

TRUE SONS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.





CHAP. I.

AN INTRODUCTIVE REFLECTION ON OUR PRESENT CONDITION.



IN this sad conjuncture of affairs, when those whose office it is to speak to the people from God, and to God from the people, are solemnly forbidden all public discharge of these and all other branches of that sacred function, so useful to make up the breach, to reconcile the enmity betwixt an angry God, and a sinful land; it may not, I presume, and I hope it will not, be deemed by any, either impertinent, or unseasonable, to make some attempt to supply those wants, and remove those pressures which may otherwise lie too heavily insupportable on those our weak brethren's souls, towards whom the example of Christ's bowels and blood-shedding

may reasonably expect to be answered with our utmost compassion.

§. 2. In obedience therefore to opportunity which may possibly be a duty incumbent on us, (since Rom. xii. 11, the Greek copies of greatest authority read *καιρῷ δουλεύειν*, *serving the season*, instead of *Κυρίῳ*, *the Lord*,) I shall now, though the unworthiest of all my many brethren, assume this venerable office of being a remembrancer to the people of God, even to all those who have been brought forth unto Christ by our precious dear persecuted Mother, the Church of England, and remain still constant to that faith which from her breasts they have sucked, and are not yet scandalized in her.

§. 3. And for the first step of my address, it cannot be more regular, than by beholding and representing awhile the peculiarity of our present condition, considered only in the sad matter of it, (without any unkind reflection on the inflictors,) that no one of us may miss to discern the nature of that judgment, that by God's just vengeance and all-wise providence

is permitted to fall and lie upon us, even the saddest addition to the former weight that our unparalleled sins and provocations could solicit God to tolerate, or suggest to others to inflict, or to the patients to fear, or expect in this life.

§. 4. Some images we have of it in Sacred Writ. As first, the expulsion of our first parents, and in them of all God's people, at one interdict, out of the Garden of God, that lively emblem of a pure Reformed Church, and a "flaming sword" sent to back that interdict, to guard the "way of the tree of life," to keep those, who most desired, from tasting of it: and the sad positive penalties which attended that, the sweat and agony of their combat with the briars and thorns, were nothing in comparison with the vast dismal privation and intercision of all those blessed advantages which were designed the daily fruits and enjoyments of that Paradise.

§. 5. Add to this the captive Ark, with Ichabod inscribed on it, the departure of the Shechina, the majestic Presence of the Lord, and with it the glory from Israel; the very

news whereof was, in God's own judgment, such as that "the ears of every one that heard it should tingle," and the effect yet more direful to old Eli, whose but mildness and want of due severity, had somewhat contributed toward it: the greatness of which punishment to the discomfited Israelites is much more agreeable, and useful matter of meditation to us at this time, than the inauspicious consequences thereof to those who took it captive, the Emerods and the ruinous prostration of their Dagon, and the weight of God's hand on the men of Ashdod and Gath and Ekron, who were any way guilty of taking, or accessory to the withholding it.

§. 6. Beside these, the Prophets both of the Old and New Testament have yielded us many dismal adumbrations; their pencils advancing as high as to the "sun's being turned into darkness," and "the moon into blood," the "casting down of the host, and of the stars to the ground;" some in calmer style to represent the deportation of the worshippers into a strange country, from the

“garden of Eden” into a “desolate wilderness,” from Sion unto Babylon; others in the sharper accent of the “threefold woe” in Josephus^a and the Apocalypse^b, to set out the captivity of the very worship and Temple itself; destroying the Sanctuary, causing the Sacrifice and Oblation to cease, banishing even their eyes and thoughts from the wonted joy and delight of both, (the *κλητὴ ἁγία*, *the holy convocation*, and *the beauty of that holiness*,) and of this the conclusion is but equitable, this “is a lamentation and it shall be for a lamentation.”

§. 7. Lastly, to come nearer home, to the most flourishing, once purest Christian assemblies, we have in vision from St. John, in his exile, predictions of Churches and their Angels both threatened a deportation; of ‘removing Ephesus her candlestick out of the place,’ putting the lamp thereof (fitly qualified to have enlightened the whole room) under the narrow bounds of a bed or bushel; of deliver-

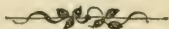
^a See Euseb. l. iii. c. 8. ed. 1720.

^b Rev. viii. 13.

ing up whole assemblies to Satan, that he may "cast them into prison," sentencing them to black and dark restraints, the sins of professors being the forges or moulds of such more than iron fetters whereby even the Word of God is taught to be bound, when the free use of it hath been abused by them.

§. 8. That these are the very lines, that make up the face of sorrow, that is at present on this Church, is none of the advertisements, that we can stand in need of at this time ; the matter itself speaks too loud to be news to any of us.

§. 9. The doubts that are more apt to exercise men's thoughts are founded in the acknowledgment of it, and every one hath borrowed his objection or argument from one of Job's friends, to add some weight of sorrow to her whom God hath afflicted. A few of these it may be pertinent to examine awhile, instead of further enlarging on our *θρηνώδια*.





CHAP. II.

A FIRST OBJECTION, OR ARGUMENT OF OUR GUILT, DRAWN FROM OUR PRESENT CONDITION; ANSWERED IN THE FORMER BRANCH OF IT; THE JUDGMENT APPORTIONED TO OUR SINS.

IT is first made matter of argument against our Church and establishment, that God hath found us out; that it is because of transgressions, that an host hath been given against the daily Sacrifice, and therein hath practised and prospered, and that prosperousness interpreted to be God's own decision, as signal as any response from the Ephod, a sentence by Urim and Thummim, that it is no other than the quarrel of God, which He hath thus signally managed against us.

§. 2. This argument thus proposed, hath somewhat which must be granted, and by no means denied by us; and for the other part

wherein it is fallacious, it brings sufficient light with it to assist us in the discovery of the paralogism. And it may be worth the while distinctly to consider it, in these two branches of it.

§. 3. First, I say, it must not be denied, but that "our sins have found us out," all the punishments we have undergone, being but the just, and withal merciful reward of our sins.

§. 4. For although we are by our Saviour's answer^c, restrained from making such inferences of other men, to conclude their guilts by their sufferings, though Job's friends are rebuked for this kind of logic, arguing his insincerity from the pressures that fell upon him, yet such methods are very safe to be used by ourselves toward ourselves. We are now obliged, and never more loudly called on to judge ourselves, though it be not allowed to any man else to judge us upon these premises.

§. 5. It is, I say, true beyond all contradiction, and never more applicable to any

^c Luke xiii. 3.

than to us, that all God's punishments, especially His spiritual, and heaviest sort of them, are brought upon men by their sins. The "Lover of souls," the patient and "long-suffering Father of all consolations and mercies," never puts on the guise or armature of an enemy, but when our methods have suggested this, and our unreformed sins made it doubly necessary, to vindicate Himself, and to chastise us. And herein how bitter soever our portion prove, though to have our lot with Admah and Zeboim, to be "thrown away as straw to the dunghill," or "unprofitable servants into utter darkness," yet our hands are on our mouths, the honour of a most perfect righteousness belongeth unto our Judge, "and to us confusion of face, as at this day."

§. 6. And we shall be foully to blame, if these so generous medicaments do not, in some proportion to the wisdom and design of our great Physician, prove effectually operative, beyond all the former gentler methods; if the sins that have lain disguised in their closest concealments, kept so strictly from the

eyes of men, and, in our design, of God Himself, that they have even been unknown to ourselves, do not now, upon this scrutiny, give God the honour, come forth, and offer themselves to justice.

§. 7. This is indeed but our just return to our "sins finding us out," for us to find out our sins; to act this one revenge on them, to deliver those up to wrath which have so signally delivered up us. And instead of shaking off, or taking leave of this part of the argument too hastily, I shall desire to give it its full scope, to reap as much benefit by it as we may, and take notice of some, at least, of those guilts, which the signatures we discern in the judgment, the lines in this hand of God do, according to the rules of the steadiest augury, point out and discover to us.

§. 8. And 1. The deep, though most causeless displeasure, under which the Liturgy of our Church is fallen, is a shrewd indication of the great coldness and indevotion, so scandalously frequent among us, of the formal perfunctory performance of our offices, nay, of the

many foul profane mixtures which have so frequently interposed, and by a kind of fascination converted the most spotless sacrifice into the very “lame and the sick^c,” the purest unleavened “offering” into bitter “polluted bread^d” upon God’s altar, and then no marvel that God should “have no pleasure^e,” and at length refuse to “accept an offering^f” from such *mystæ*.

§. 9. We know the “unwashed hands” that brought it, defamed the sacrifice of God’s own ordaining, blasted the very “incense” and “fat of fed beasts^g,” the “Sabbaths” and “calling of assemblies^h,” and turned them into mere “abominations;” and then what wonder that what He detests and cannot away with, He should permit to be destroyed?—lay down that weight, which he is “weary to bearⁱ?”—suffer that to be deemed an “abomination,” and used accordingly, which our unsanctified usage hath made such?

§. 10. To descend to some particulars; Our

^c Mal. i. 8.

^d Ver. 7.

^e Ver. 10.

^f Ibid.

^g Isaiah i. 13.

^h Ver. 13.

ⁱ Ver. 14.

continued obstinate unreformed sins have made forms of confession and contrition unfit to be taken into our mouths ; those cannot be repeated by such, without gross hypocrisy and belying ourselves before God and men, and then what possibility is there, that the Ministerial Absolution should with any justice be applied to us ?

§. 11. And for that sacred “form of words” which Christ commanded us to use in our addresses to our Father,—“When ye pray, say, Our Father,”—there needs no other argument for the discountenancing of it, (and hell itself can yield no other, though search hath been made into all topics to find some,) this one is sufficient for the rending it from us, our unqualifiedness for the rehearsing the several petitions of it.

§. 12. We that are so far from our due charity to others that we are not at unity within ourselves, that live so unlike children that we have not so much as the livery of the servants of God ; with what face can we hourly and solemnly invoke our Father ? We that

do actually with horrid oaths defile, and reproach the Name of God, cannot be thought to be in earnest, when we require it 'may be hallowed.' We that like rebels have dethroned God out of our hearts, cannot without the same mockery that the soldiers were guilty of in the crown of thorns and purple robe and ironical salutation^k, instal Him King, or pray for that 'coming of His Kingdom.' And as long as we mutiny, and repine at the execution of God's 'will in Heaven,' it is not possible we should heartily beg that honour of transcribing the Angels' pattern of cheerful diligent obedience to His 'will on earth.' Our wants may seem indeed to qualify us for an ardent address of the fourth petition; but our surfeiting of manna makes us of all others the least fit to go out to gather it: and the bread that came down from Heaven being so neglected by us, with what face can we ask that other which we mean but to consume upon our lusts? But beyond all, we are most unqualified for that petition wherein we set our 'forgiving of

^k John xix. 3.

trespassers,' as the pattern for God to copy out in 'forgiving us.' It is but just that they which are implacable to enemies, should be excluded from, if they will not voluntarily renounce all part in this prayer, this legacy of Christ's to the merciful. Why should they be inclinable to use a form, which is so ill fitted to their constitutions, an imprecation on those whom they tender most dearly? And yet those which are most unwilling to lose their right in this donative have not been, to that degree they ought, mindful of the condition, without which they do but call for vengeance upon their own heads, when they are most importunate for mercy and forgiveness. In a word, they that solicit and even court temptations, invade sin and Satan in his own territories, not to subdue, but to be subdued by him, how can they pray 'not to be led into temptation;' or be reconciled to themselves for hoping 'deliverance' from those 'evils,' which themselves have brought down upon themselves?

§. 13. As for the Sacraments, they also may deserve to be reflected on awhile by us.

§. 14. The Baptism of infants is well known to have of late found great opposition among us, many with some earnestness, as if it were their solid concernment, denying their tender years the enjoyment of this privilege, whereby the benefits of the death of Christ, (of which the Catholic Church against the Pelagians defined all that are “born in sin” to stand in need,) are, according to His institution, “sealed” unto them.

§. 15. And for others which retaining kindness to the Directory, do in obedience thereto, maintain Infant Baptism, yet have they taken away the Form of Abrenuntiation, though such as hath been universally practised in the Church of all ages¹, and that as delivered to them by

¹ Tertul. de Coron. Mil. c. 3. Aquam adituri ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius (viz. in the preparing the Catechumens for Baptism) in Ecclesiâ sub antistitis manu contestamur, nos renuntiare diabolo et pompæ et Angelis ejus . . . amplius aliquid respondentes quam Dominus in Evangelio determinavit. So the Author de Eccles. Hierarch. very ancient, cap. ii. edit. Par. ap. Morel. p. 216. Ἐμφυσῆσαι μὲν αὐτῷ τρὶς διακελεύεται τῷ Σατανᾷ, καὶ προσέτι τὰ τῆς ἀποταγῆς ὁμολογῆσαι, καὶ τρὶς αὐτῷ τὴν ἀποταγὴν μαρτυρόμενος, ὁμολογήσαντα τρὶς τοῦτο

the Apostles^m themselves, and in every word almost of that form which is retained in our

μετάγει πρὸς ἐώ—καὶ κελευεὶ συντάξασθαι τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ πάσαις ταῖς θεοπαραδότοις ἱερολογίαις. So Chrysost. ad illum. Cat. tom. ii. 238. ed. Ben. Διὰ τοῦτο κελευόμεθα λέγειν, Ἀποτάσσομαί σοι Σατανᾶ, ἵνα μηκέτι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπανέλθωμεν, and *ibid.* p. 242. *Ἄν ἀναμνησθῇς τῆς φωνῆς ἐκείνης, ἣν ἀφῆκας μυσταγωγουμένη, Ἀποτάσσομαί σοι Σατανᾶ, καὶ τῇ πομπῇ σου, καὶ τῇ λατρείᾳ σου; adding *infra*, αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ φωνή, συνθήκη πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην ἐστὶ (making it the covenant on our part) καὶ καθάπερ ἡμεῖς οἰκέτας ἀγοράζοντες αὐτοὺς—πρότερον ἐρωτῶμεν, εἰ βούλονται ἡμῖν δουλωσαι, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ποιεῖ—ἐρωτᾷ εἰ βούλει τὸν τύραννον ἐκείνον ἀφεῖναι.—So Augustine, de Nuptiis et Concupiscent, l. i. c. 20. (ed. Ben. t. x. p. 292.) Potestas diabolica exorcizatur in parvulis, eique renunciant, quia per sua non possunt, per corda et ora gestantium. So Ambrose in Col. ii. (Suppositit. t. ii. ed. Ben.) and Liber de iis qui Myster.: initiantur c. 2. Repete quid interrogatus sis, Recognosce quid responderis, Renuntiasti diabolo et operibus ejus." And Hexaem. l. i. c. 4. t. i. ed. Ben. Deserit qui abluitur—Principem istius mundi dicens, Abrenuntio tibi, diabolo, et angelis tuis et operibus tuis, et imperiis tuis. And Hierome ad Mat. v. ed. Ben. Renuntio tibi diabole, et pompæ tuæ et vitiis tuis, et mundo tuo qui in maligno positus est.

^m S. Basil. de Spiritu Sanct. ad Amphiloeh. c. 27. t. iii. p. 54, 55. ed. Ben. Basil, giving many instances: Τῶν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πεφυλαγμένων δογμάτων, καὶ κηρυγμάτων ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως, mentions this among them, Ἀπο-

Liturgyⁿ, and that extended to the tenderest infants^o: only instead of this the people are

τάσσεσθαι τῷ Σατανᾷ, καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ, ἐκ ποίας, saith he, ἐστὶ γραφῆς; οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἀδημοσιεύτου ταύτης καὶ ἀπορρήτου διδασκαλίας, ἣν ἐν ἀπολυπραγμονήτῳ καὶ ἀπεριεργάστῳ σιγῇ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐφύλαξαν. And before him, Origen. Hom. V. in Num. t. ii. ed. Ben. Eorum quæ geruntur in baptismo verborum—atque interrogationum et responsionum quis facile explicet rationem? Et tamen omnia hæc operta et velata portamus super humeros nostros, cum ita implemus ea et exequimur, ut a magno Pontifice atque ejus filiis tradita et commendata suscepimus. And so Tertullian, *ubi supra*. Hanc si nulla scriptura determinavit, certe consuetudo corroboravit quæ sine dubio de traditione manavit. Quæramus an et traditio nisi Scripta non debeat recipi—ut a baptis-mate ingrediatur.

ⁿ So Cyril of Jerusalem in his *μυσταγωγία*, or *ἱερ*: Κατηχη: ἁ ἑκαστὸς ἐστὼς ἔλεγεν, Ἀποτάσσομαί σοι Σατανᾷ—εἰτα καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις σου—εἰτα λέγεις, καὶ πάση τῇ πομπῇ αὐτοῦ,—καὶ πᾶσα τοιαύτη ματαιότης.

^o The Author de Eccl. Hierarch. c. 2. Τοῦτον οὖν ὁ ἱεράρχης ὁμολογοῦντα κατὰ τὴν ἱερὰν ἀνάγειν τὸν παῖδα ζῶν ἀπαιτεῖ τὰς ἀποταγὰς ὁμολογῆσαι, καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς ὁμολογίας, οὐκ ἂν ὥς ἐκεῖνοι γελῶντες φαῖεν ἄλλον ἀντ' ἄλλου τὰ θεῖα μὲν, οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτό φησιν, ὥς ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐγὼ τὰς ἀποταγὰς, ἢ τὰς ἱερὰς ὁμολογίας ποιῶμαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι πῶς ἀποτάσσεται καὶ συντάσσεται, τ. ε. ὁμολογῶ τὸν παῖδα πείσειν εἰς νοῦν ἱερὸν ἰόντα ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἐν θεοῖς ἀναγωγαῖς,

appointed to be taught, "That all that are baptized do renounce, and by their baptism are bound to fight against the devil, the world, and the flesh^p." Which yet cannot with any truth be affirmed of those, that neither do it by themselves, nor by their proxies. And it is not sufficient to say, they do it interpretatively, for unless it have been the constant custom of the Church, that they who are baptized should use forms of abrenuntiation, they that are baptized, without using them, cannot be pretended to do it interpretatively, and if it have been the constant custom, then how can they be excused, that have resolvedly omitted it. And besides, the condition of covenants (such is abrenuntiation here) ought to be expressed, and so the Church from the Apostles hath always exacted the expressing it, before the sealing of this covenant. And yet I say this, though it be such an Apostolical rite, containing no inconsiderable, supervacaneous

ἀποτάξασθαι μὲν ὁλικῶς τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ὁμολογῆσαι δὲ καὶ ἐνεργῆσαι τὰς θείας ὁμολογίας. So Augustine, *ubi supra*.

^p Direct. of Bapt. p. 42.

condition and qualification in the person baptized, is by interdicting the administration of Baptism according to the ancient order of our Church, or by those which have continued constant to that order, endeavoured to be superseded and removed from among us.

§. 16. And the wisdom and justice and mercy of God is remarkable in this, thereby branding our infamous repeated innumerable breaches of this vow, our perjurious acting of all those sins, with confidence and without regrets, which we did so solemnly renounce and defy in our Baptism.

§. 17. The greatness of that crime of rescinding oaths, and renouncing abrenuntiations, was that which made the ancient discipline of the Church so severe against every presumptuous act of sin after Baptism, in respect of the heightening circumstances of such, drawn from the solemnity of that vow against which they were committed, and of that Presence in which that vow was made, and of that weight^ν,

α Πλὴν τοῦτο ἴσθε ὅτι ὅσα λέγεis μάλιστα κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν φρικωδεστάτην ὥραν ἔγγραφά ἐστι ἐν τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ

which is set upon it by God, and of that judgment which attends every breach of it. And our scandalous negligence in this kind is by this interdict, signally pointed out to us; it is a pity we should ever want any more admonitions, or venture again upon one such provocation, lest a worse thing yet happen to us, this being, if rightly considered, bad enough already.

§. 18. In like manner and upon the same grounds of our unreformed sins, it is, that the Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood should be in all justice withdrawn from those who have no way approved themselves for the "eating of that Bread and drinking that Cup," this greatest severity being by our unprepared hearts converted into the only seasonable mercy; it being little for the advantage (or even the sensuality) of the swine, to have the 'trampling of pearls under their feet,' and as little for the unworthy receivers to deal after

βιβλίοις. ἐπειδὴν τοίνυν ἐναντίον τι διαπραττόμενος τούτοις ἦς, ὡς παραβάτης κριθήσῃ. Cyril. Hieros. Κατηχ. μυσταγ. a. p. 308. ed. Touttée.

the same manner with the “blood of the Covenant.”

§. 19. And why should the Sacramentals escape better than the Sacraments? Marriage we know is become so deformed among us, so extremely unlike the union betwixt Christ and His Church, by which St. Paul thought meet to resemble it, the band is so frequently and so scandalously torn asunder, the designs of it ordinarily so very unlike what they ought to be, so more than polluted by either earthy or sensual considerations, that the mysterious band is in danger to become *ἅλη σὰρξ*, *all flesh*, nothing but luxury and brutishness, and in proportion thereto the very rites of it so wholly transformed from the *γάμοι* or *nuptial feasts* in Scripture (honoured by Christ’s presence) into the Saturnalia or heathen riots in Macrobius, that it were even a reproach to the Church’s Service, especially to the Offertory, and Sacrament of Christ’s Body, (which our Rubric exacts indispensably from the married couple at the time of their espousals,) to bear part in such kind of solemnities. And to these, and

the like provocations we may reasonably impute it, that the binding and blessing those bands, and rendering them truly sacred, to which the Bishop's or Presbyter's hands were^r always thought necessary from the Apostles' days, through all ages of the Church over all the world, is now solemnly laid aside, and no image of it reserved to the Church, the Presbyterian Minister, as well as the Prelatist, (which in other particulars have not the like fellowship,) not only the Liturgy but the Directory deemed superfluous, and equally impertinent in this matter.

§. 20. And so the Office for Burial, which is now under the like proscription, may well be our seasonable admonition, and memorative of the sublime and sacred uses to which our living

^r *Πρέπει τοῖς γαμοῦσι καὶ γαμουμέναις μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τὴν ἔνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι.* Ignat. Ep. ad Polycarp. Quod Ecclesia conciliat, et confirmat oblatio, et obsignat benedictio, Angeli renunciant, &c. Tert. ad Uxor. l. ii. c. ult. Conjunctiones . . . non prius apud Ecclesiam professæ juxta mæchiam —judicari periclitantur. Idem de Pudic. c. 4. Sponsus et sponsa cum benedicendi sunt a Sacerdote, Concil. Carthag. 4. Can. 13. Qui in toto orbe sunt Sacerdotes, nuptiarum initia benedicentes, consecrantes, et in mysteriis sociantes. De Hær. Prædestinat.

bodies were by God designed, even to be the *ναὶ ἑμψυχοί*, the animate walking temples of His Spirit, and to bear their parts with the soul in all the devotions it offers up, (the eye, the hand, the knee, the tongue, being thus obliged, as well as the heart,) but are commonly so obstinately withdrawn from all holy offices, and so profaned and polluted with our unsanctified practices, that as to so many *felos de se*, so many sacrilegious, anathematized persons, the burial of an ass or dog is but fitly apportioned, and upon that account all more decent ceremonies or regard, all offerings for the dead, though but for a joyful resurrection, withdrawn from us.

§. 21. And even the Creeds of the Catholic Church, that great depositum, which the Apostles in their several plantations left as the summary of all that was to be “believed to our souls’ health,” and foundation of all Christian practice and reformation, together with the Nicene (or Constantinopolitan) and Athanasian enlargements of that, for the securing that depositum, and for the expulsi^{ng} all heresies,

risen up against it: all these now being fallen under the same ostracism, with the other parts of the inheritance of the Church, must serve to advertise us, that a pure faith attended with impure lives, foundations of reformation laid by God, without any conformable superstructures of ours, are like the 'talent laid up in a napkin,' *αὐτοκατακρίσεις*, testifications and self-confessions of an unprofitable, wicked servant, and so very fit to be taken away from them, who have made such unchristian uses of them.

§. 22. The Solifidian that must be saved by his "faith without works," and hath found out artifices to elude St. James's exhortation and resolution that such a faith will never save or justify any, well deserves to have his amulet taken away from him, to be deprived of the instrument of his destructive security, as the Jews were of the Temple of the Lord, when that was become the great sanctuary, and reserve of safety for all their unsanctified practices.

§. 23. As for the contempt of the persons of

those that have been set apart to that venerable office of waiting on God's Altars, and at length the interdict that is fallen upon them, there be many matters of seasonable admonition which seem to be designed us thereby. First, It may mind us of a considerable defect.

§. 24. For though the four Ember weeks were according to ancient custom preserved for fasting and praying, and that in order to that business of greatest weight, "Praying to the Lord of the harvest that He would send forth fit labourers into the harvest," (therein transcribing the example of the Apostolic Church, Acts xiii. 3.) yet there being no special service appointed in our Liturgy for those times, it is too probable, that duty being left to every man's voluntary, private devotions, hath been very much neglected, which neglect was therefore thus to receive its chastisement from God.

§. 25. Secondly, The admission of some men into that calling which were not duly qualified for it; and the negligent and unworthy performances of the offices of so sacred a function;

and the many profane mixtures, the seeking our own wealth, and ease, and praise, &c. qualifying us for that contempt, and ruin, which is now fallen upon us; and lastly, the unprofitableness of the people in the midst of very plentiful means of instruction, were all fit to be thus disciplined with a famine of the word, or unwholesome food in exchange for that *ἄδολον γάλα*, *sincere and unmixed*, which began to be nauseated. And many other sad reflections this may seasonably suggest to us.

§. 26. And so in like manner for holy times and places which are fallen under so great displeasure and contempt, even those that have been consecrated not only to the honourable memory and imitation of the Apostles and Saints and Martyrs of God, but even to the commemoration of the most glorious mysteries of our redemption, the most signal mercies of Christ Himself, the deprivation of these blessed seasons and advantages cannot but mind us how they have been formerly neglected and even despised, and so either way profaned and sacrilegiously handled by us, instead of being

instrumental to the inciting and advancing (as they were sure designed) the works of holiness in us.

§. 27. In a word, (to cut off, and omit many particulars in this large and vast field of useful meditation, beseeching every man to examine his guilts by such reflections as these,) when the characters, or discriminative marks of the English Reformation are principally two; one, the conforming all our doctrines to the Primitive Antiquity, receiving all genuine Apostolical traditions for our rule both in matters of faith and government; the other, in uniting that *καλὴν συνωρίδα*, *fair, beautiful pair*, of faith and works, in the same degree of necessity and conditionality both to our justification and salvation, and to all the good works of justice and mercy which the Romanist speaks of, adjoining that other most eminent one of humility, attributing nothing to ourselves, when we have done all, but all to the glory of the mercy and grace of God, purchased for us by Christ; it is but just that they which have walked unworthy of such guides and rules as

these, lived so contrary to our profession, should at length be deprived of both, not only to have our two staves broken—beauty and bands—the symbols of order and unity; both which have now for some years taken their leaves of us, but even to have the whole fabric demolished, the house to follow the pillar's fate, and so to be left; and abide “without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without teraphim^s,” deprived of all our ornaments, left naked and bare, when we had so misused our beauty unto wantonness. Thus when the devil was turned out of his habitation, and nothing followed but the “sweeping and garnishing” the house, and keeping it empty of any better guest; the issue is, the devil soon returns again, from whence he came out, and brings “seven spirits worse than himself, and the end of that state is worse than the beginning.”

§. 28. And so still the taking of the Ark, and the breaking the high-priest's neck, and the slaying his sons, and many more, in that discomfiture, are all far from new or strange,

being but the proper natural effects of the profanations which not the Ark itself (that was built every pin of it according to God's direction) but the sacrificers, not the religion but the worshippers, were so scandalously guilty of.

§. 29. Thus we that are taught by Christ to 'love our enemies,' and by nature and natural kindness to ourselves to receive all profit we may by their oppositions, must make our advantage of the first part of the objection, distinguishing betwixt the innocence or guiltiness (nay more than so, fruitfulness and goodness) of the land, and the barrenness and wickedness and provocations of them "that dwell therein," for whose sake it is regular with God to make that "fruitful land barren," to convert the milk and honey of Canaan into gall and wormwood, to leave it to imitate, and copy out the temper of the inhabitants, (whom yet His own hand of transcendent special mercy had once planted there,) to suffer it to petrify and degenerate (as geographers tell us of that once good land) into rock and mine, at once to punish and reproach their obdurate impeni-

tent hearts. And yet still discerning the blessedness of that Canaan, both in itself and to us, as long as we were thought worthy to enjoy it, and indeed judging by this one κριτήριον, (if we wanted all others,) that it was a most precious establishment, because such provokers could not in the justice and wisdom of God be longer allowed the fruition of it.

§. 30. Herein our punishment consists, that that which we are deprived of, was truly valuable : it is not a vengeance but a boon, to have poisonous drugs snatched from us, and cast out into the sink—Ordinances that are not good, abolished and nailed to the Cross ; and, in like manner, it is but proportionable to our merits to have even the Kingdom of Heaven taken from us, that initial part, the suburbs and confines of it here, and bestowed on them that are more worthy, and so capable of receiving benefit by such jewels.

§. 31. Let us therefore here stop awhile to do our duty upon our knees to this first part of the objection, by reflecting on those sins which have thus found us out.



A PRAYER

FITTED FOR A DAY OF HUMILIATION.

O JUST and righteous Judge, Who didst once for the iniquity of Thy people Israel give up Thy Ark into the hand of the Philistines; we sinful creatures that are now under as great a degree both of guilt and punishment, do here cast ourselves down before Thee, acknowledging that we are not worthy any longer to receive the honour of Christian profession, that have so long defamed it by enormous practises; and that we who loved darkness more than light deserve to have our candlestick removed, and to be given up to that inundation of atheism and profaneness, which now invades the gasping Church. Yet, O Lord, deal not with us after our sins, but turn

Thee again, thou God of Hosts, look down from Heaven, behold and visit this Vine: do not abhor us for Thy Name's sake: do not disgrace the throne of Thy glory. Behold, see, we beseech Thee, we are all Thy people; though a rebellious and stiffnecked generation, yet Thy Name is called upon us, leave us not, neither forsake us, O God of our salvation; but though Thou feed us with bread of adversity and water of affliction, yet let not our teachers be removed into a corner, but let our eyes still see our teachers: let not Sion complain that she hath none to lead her by the hand among all the sons that she hath brought up, but provide her such supports in this her declining condition, that she may still have a seed and a remnant left; and in what degree soever Thou shalt permit this storm to increase upon this poor Church; be pleased proportionably to fortify and confirm all those that are members of it, that no man may be shaken or moved with these afflictions, nor pervert that glorious advantage of suffering for Thee, into an occasion of apostatizing from Thee, but that we

may all run with patience the race that is set before us, and cheerfully partake of the afflictions of the Gospel, that suffering for Christ here, we may reign with Him for ever hereafter; and all this for Jesus Christ His sake, our only Lord and Saviour. Amen.





ANOTHER.

O THOU King of Nations, Who dost according to Thy will in all the Kingdoms of the earth, Who hast made us drink deep of that cup of trembling, and yet seemest to have bitter dregs behind for us; we Thy wretched creatures that have highly contributed to that common weight of sin under which the land sinks, humbly prostrate ourselves at Thy feet; desiring with all sincere contrition to confess that Thou art righteous in all that is hitherto come upon us, all that we have yet suffered being but the sad arrear of the sins of our peace, when we waxed fat, and kicked; and that Thou shalt likewise be most just in the utmost of Thy future inflictions, which whatsoever they prove cannot exceed the sins of our calamitous days, who

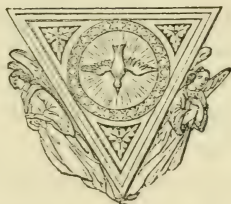
in the time of our distress have sinned yet more against the Lord, who have even passed through the fire to Moloch, with an undaunted obstinacy suffered all the flamings of Thy wrath, rather than we would renounce any of our detestable things. Nay, as if our old were too infirm, we have made new leagues with death, new agreements with hell, proceeding from evil to worse, and making every new calamity Thou sendest to reclaim us, the occasion of some fresh impiety. And now, O Lord, wilt Thou not visit for these things, shall not Thy soul be avenged on such a nation as this? We are they, O Lord, that have perverted all Thy dispensations toward us, grown wanton under Thy mercies, and desperate under Thy judgments, and is there yet any third method left for those that have frustrated both these? Behold, O Lord, these desperate, these gasping patients at Thy feet, who have lost sense and motion to all things but the resistance of their remedy. O give us not utterly over, but continue to administer to us, whatever may remove this stupefaction; and

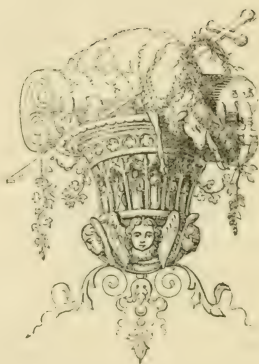
bring us to a feeling of our condition, and what sharpness and severity soever thou discernest necessary for that purpose, forbear not, O Lord, to give us those wounds of a friend. O say not concerning us, why should ye be smitten any more? but rather cast us into the place of dragons, and cover us with the shadow of death, if by so doing we may be brought to remember the Name of the Lord our God. Lord, this is the one great necessary wherein we are principally concerned to solicit Thee, that our eyes may be opened, that we may see every man the plague of his own heart; that so, instead of those atheistical disputes we make of Thy providence, we may all join in an humble adoration of Thy justice, and confessing that our destruction is of ourselves, abhor ourselves, and repent in dust and ashes. And when by this greater deliverance Thou hast put us in capacity of a less, then be Thou pleased to be jealous for Thy land, and pity Thy people, and whatever other judgment we must groan under, Lord deliver us not up to that barbarism and irreligion, which hath

already made too great a breach in upon us. We cannot but confess it most just in Thee to permit us, who have so long resisted the power of godliness, to proceed now to cast off even the very form, and that we who would not receive the love of the truth, should be given over to strong delusions, to believe lies: and this saddest effect of Thy wrath hath already overtaken many among us, and doth universally threaten the rest. For since Thou hast laid waste the wall of Thy vineyard, what can we expect, but that it should be trodden down? Thou hast broken our two staves, beauty and bands; all order and unity, the necessary supports of a Church, at once perishing from among us. The solemn feasts are forgotten in Sion, her elders sit upon the ground and keep silence, whilst they, whom Thou hast not sent, run; whilst those to whom Thou hast not spoken, prophesy. We, O Lord, who might once have gone with the multitude to the House of God, are now interdicted the more private exercises, and celebrations of Thy service. This, this, O Lord, is the unsupportable part

of our afflictions, the sting of all our misery ; if we had been only sold for bondmen and bondwomen, we could have held our peace ; but Thine abhorring Thine Altar, and casting off Thy Sanctuary, this is for a lamentation, and must be for a lamentation. Thy servants think upon the stones of Sion, and it pitieth them to see her in the dust : O let not all those tears and prayers that are poured out for her, return empty : and because Thou hast Thyself recommended to us the efficacy of importunity, be Thou pleased to give us that grace, to excite and stir up all that make mention of the Lord, that they may give Thee no rest, till Thou establish our Jerusalem again a praise in the earth. To that end, O Lord, give us Pastors after Thine own heart, such Priests whose lips may preserve knowledge, and make us diligently to seek the law at their mouths ; and grant that we, being by this deprivation taught the value of such precious advantages and the sin of our former contemning them, may unanimously contend for the regaining them, by a cordial forsaking those sins, which

have turned away these good things from us.
Grant this, gracious Lord, for His sake Whom
Thou hast set forth to be our propitiation,
Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.







CHAP. III.

A VIEW OF THE SECOND PART OF THE OBJECTION.
THE PERISHING OF THE RIGHTEOUS.

§. 1.  NOW proceed to the second and more principal part of the answer (in reference to the latter part of the objection) which on the grounds premised must be this, that the improsperousness and persecutions, and even subversion and eradication of a particular Church, is no way an evidence, nay, not so much as a probable argument, that that was nocent which thus perisheth, but only that they were unworthy which are thus deprived, and that too good to be enjoyed by them.

§. 2. An indication of this the text referred to in the proposal of the objection doth expressly afford us; the whole verse runs

thus, "An host was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground; and it practised and prospered^a."

§. 3. Here indeed transgression is the one *procatactic*, external impulsive cause, moving God to give that destroying host to the little Horn: and to continue so prodigious a success and prosperity to it, and this transgression, not that of the Horn, or host, (which yet oft provokes God even in judgment to give them such kind of destructive prosperities,) whether to be presently out of their debt (to pay Nebuchadnezzar that hire which is due to him for being instrumental to some of God's purposes) or to allow them, like Dives, their good things in this life; but I suppose the transgression of those, against whom the host prospers, just as in our case it is.

§. 4. But then still it is "the daily sacrifice," and "the truth," which it is thus empowered to cast down. The sacrifice we know of God's own prescribing, and such as was an act of His

^a Dan. viii. 12.

special favour to that, above any other nation, that he so prescribed it; and this worship so true, so acceptable to God, that as He exacted it daily, loved to have it always before Him, came constantly to meet with them at the seasons of offering it, and was propitiated thereby; so it is there, by way of excellence, and in the abstract, styled truth, and the truth itself. And this the fittest as for that host to cast to the ground, so for those transgressors to be deprived of, such as for whom no ill thing being too bad, any good thing was too precious to be continued to them.

§. 5. In like manner, when the Temple was kept from being re-edified, when the *Sanctum Sanctorum* was profaned, will any man affirm that these prosperities and great successes, whether of Tobiah and Sanballat, or of Pompey, were a decision of God's, a verdict of Heaven brought in against the Temple and Services?

§. 6. If there were need of more instances to evince this, the whole History of the Turkish successes and victories over the Christians would not miss to do it, that great

volume would crowd together, and condensate into one undeniable argument; the sum whereof is this, that Christianity hath been foiled, and Mahommedism set up in many hundred cities and regions; wheresoever that false epileptic Prophet's banners were displayed, the ensigns of truth and God Himself, *οἰχοῦνται*, were presently banished, or put to flight. And yet sure God hath not thus decided the controversy against Christian religion, (to which His promise was long ago sealed, that the gates of hell should never prevail against it.) If He have, He hath also yielded the great Sultan the honour of His own throne; for to that he hath as just a title, that of long, peaceable possession, and prescription, having put it successfully, and as prosperously maintained it among His titles, to be "King of kings, and Lord of lords." God's verdict was herein intelligible enough, against the factions and divisions and intestine broils of the Christians among themselves, too busily and ambitiously engaged in wars against one another, to attend the designs, and obviate the motions of that

common enemy. And many other sins there were that fitted them for those deprivations.

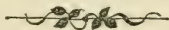
§. 7. If this be not sufficient, I shall then ascend but one step further in this argument *ab exemplo*, and demand whether Satan, that great adversary, hath not sometimes been prosperous in his attempts against the Church and true faith: and whether that be not the meaning of his being “loosed a little season^s,” after the determining of the thousand years, and his deceiving the nations before the commencing of them, and whether in both those periods of time, wherein he had his desired success in the *πλάνη ἔθνων*, deceiving the nations, God have decided the question for him, and given judgment against the truth; if so, then was Simon of Samaria no longer a magician, but a god, and all the powers of Heaven itself submitted to him, when he prevailed with the Emperor to have a statue so inscribed to him, *Simoni summo Deo*, *To Simon the highest God*: and the strumpet Helena transformed from the stray sheep into the Queen of Heaven, when

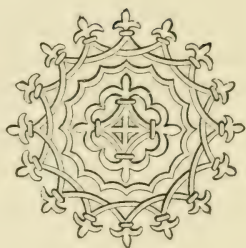
once she obtained to be adored as his prima *ἐννοια*. And then did Arianism commence orthodox, and Apostolical truth become the only heresy, when by the favour of the Emperor Constantius it triumphed through all the East over the Catholic doctrine; it being known in story, how upon that Emperor's great prosperities and successes, particularly upon the overthrow of Magnentius, and joining the Western Empire to the Eastern which formerly he possessed, he frequently boasted, *Probatum divino calculo suam fidem, That God Himself by those victories decided the controversy on the Arians' side against the Fathers of Nice, and determined^t their belief to be the true*, (which presumption Lucifer Calaritanus confuted in a Treatise for that purpose, and entituled, *De Regibus Apostatis*.) And then (in brief) prosperity is not, as the Romanist but modestly pretends, one of his many

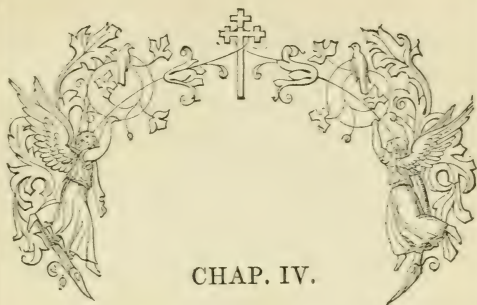
^t Nisi Catholica esset fides Arii, hoc est, mea, nisi placitum esset Deo, quod illam persequar fidem quam contra me scripserunt apud Nicæam, nunquam profecto adhuc in imperio florerem.

marks of the true Church, but like Aaron's rod, in the midst of those of the magicians, devours and supplies the place of them all, neither antiquity, nor purity shall any longer signify any thing, nor Christ Himself, if He have ever been so improsperous, as to be crucified; the Jews, and Judas, and Pilate, must have been in the right for three days, till He conquered, and so confuted them again at His resurrection.

§. 8. These few I suppose may serve for some competent topics of reasoning, to repel all the force of this first objection, though if there could be need of it, the whole Christian religion itself, which bears the Cross for its standard, and hath no assurance of conquest but by constancy in suffering, and gives us no promise of this life but *cum mixturâ crucis*, with the exception, or mixture of the cross, would abundantly demonstrate such objections as this to be perfectly unchristian.







CHAP. IV.

A SECOND OBJECTION ANSWERED. WHERE IS NOW
THE PROTESTANT ENGLISH CHURCH?

§. 1. **T**HE next objection is prepared and aimed against us from another coast, and will be, most for their advantage, put into this short question, Where is now your Protestant English Church? when your Church doors and even parlours themselves are shut up against those of you which are the ancient remaining Bishops and Presbyters of the Church of England, officers regularly entered into and continuing in that function.

§. 2. To this (not to examine the truth of the suggestion, which I suppose to fail in many respects) the answer will be the same,

as if the heathens should ask, as once they are supposed to have asked the Psalmist, in a state of the like captivity, "Where is now your God?" viz. that as our God, so our Church is now, where it was before, ere this interdict came out against us.

§. 3. Or if it may tend to the satisfaction of any that I should a little enlarge on this theme also, I shall then as before first demand, Where the Church of the Israelites was, when the people were carried into Assyria or Chaldea? Were they not then removed as far from their own solemn place of worship, the Temple at Jerusalem, and from all their numerous Synagogues erected in Palestine, and that by the very same means, a visible force; by which we are discharged from the public, and even more private exercise of our functions; and consequently was not the lot of that people the same with the worst, which can be suggested or affirmed of ours, viz. to be sheep kept out of their pastures upon the interdicting of their shepherds?

§. 4. Secondly, whether in the most

prosperous times of Arianism, when the Catholic Bishops were driven out of their Churches, banished out of Constantine's dominions, and forced to fly to the West, as to a hiding-place, a refuge from those sad calamities, it be by the objectors imagined, that there was no Catholic or Orthodox Church in those regions, wherein the Arian Emperor thus persecuted the truth?

§. 5. Thirdly, whether in the time of Anastasius the Emperor, who was an Eutychian heretic and a bitter enemy and persecutor of the orthodox, through the whole Eastern Empire, the Goths and Vandals, Arian Princes meanwhile domineering in Italy, Spain, and Africa, and Pagan Kings bearing rule in France, England, and Germany: whether, I say, in this place, there were not yet an orthodox Church remaining, though persecuted, in all those places? or whether there were at that time any part of the Church which enjoyed the *εὐδία*, exempt from that black persecuted condition? Much might be added of the particular state of the African Church under the

Vandals, out of Victor Uticensis, but the argument is too copious.

§. 6. Fourthly, whether when the Othoman race of Mahometan Emperors subdued so great a part not only of Asia but Europe also, and therein so many eminent Christian Churches, setting up Mohammedism for the public worship, yet permitting Christians to live, though but as under saws and harrows and axes of iron, instead of utterly depopulating their cities, it can with truth be suggested, that these Christian Churches were all destroyed? I speak not of later times, wherein some liberty of assemblies is at a dear rate sold to them. But before they came to purchase, or find so much mercy at their conquerors' hands, whilst all exercise of Christian religion was under close interdicts, all their Churches filled with their false worshippers; yet even then hath not this sad captivity been deemed sufficient to unchurch all the Christians under those proud tyrants' dominions?

§. 7. Lastly, what will these disputers pretend, as to the Romanists themselves who

have continued for some years in this Kingdom without public assemblies, and acknowledge willingly, I suppose, that their state hath been all this while a state of persecution, that no Priest of theirs is allowed to celebrate Mass among them, that they can have no Bishop or Ordinary residing here, and (as is supposable at least) do not all receive influence either immediately or mediately from their supreme Bishop? Will not their union with the Catholic Church over the world, and their sincere desire to enjoy the liberty of assemblies, &c. preserve them within the bosom of the Church, though they do not enjoy these felicities?

§. 8. It is vain to pay any larger, or more solemn attendance to this objection to which I have elsewhere^a spoken more punctually, and do now only suppose, that all that hath since been added to our pressures hath infused no fresh virtue into the arguments.

§. 9. The truth is, these and the like ways of their demurest arguings, or suggestions at

^a Tract of Schism, c. 2. Hammond's Works, vol. i.

this time, are but acts of diligent observers of opportunity, which think to gain more by the seasonable application, by addressing their fumes, or mendicaments, *tempore congruo*, when the pores are open, or the body in any special manner receptive, than by the intrinsic virtue or energy of them.

§. 10. The argument I suppose the very same, which threescore years since was frequently pressed against us of this Nation, that ever since our departure from the Romish yoke we have ceased to be a Church; only now the darkness of our present condition makes them hope that their sophistry shall not be so easily seen through, as formerly it hath been, and that either we shall be found less diligent or less dextrous to defend a persecuted profession, or else more inclinable to part with it.

§. 11. It is meet therefore we should be instructed by them, and learn wariness from their wiles, and as antidotes and prophylactic methods, which are at all times of like power and virtue, are yet most necessary to be produced, in time of a general distemper,

so I suppose a more particular discourse on this matter, though it will not now have more real force, or consequently hope for better success upon those that are impersuasible, than formerly it had, may yet be more seasonable to the wants of some weak seducible members of our persecuted Communion, in tenderness to whom it may not be amiss more distinctly to consider the argument itself, that was now only to be new dressed, and furbished, and receive some aid from the condition of our present pressures, and to begin with examining, what, and how many things there are which may by the disputers be thought sufficient to unchurch, or destroy any particular Church.

§. 12. And I suppose them reducible to these four. 1. Apostacy; 2. Heresy; 3. Schism; 4. Consumption and utter vastation.

§. 13. For the first, that of Apostacy, or renouncing the whole faith of Christ, I hope of that we shall not be deemed guilty, who are by our greatest enemies acknowledged to retain many branches of that "faith which was once delivered to the saints."

§. 14. For the fourth, that of utter Consumption, it can as little be pretended, as long as so many Bishops, Presbyters, and duly baptized Christians among us remain alive and constant to their first faith.

§. 15. For the third, that of Schism, the Fathers which aggravated the sin of it to the highest, do not yet allow it the force of unchurching, but call them brethren, *i. e.* fellow-Christians, which were most obstinately guilty of it. But howsoever it be, of that I have in a discourse on that subject, and in a first and second defence of that discourse said as much as yet appears necessary to be pleaded in defence of our Church.

§. 16. There remains then only the second, that of Heresy, to which also some preparative matter hath been laid down in the Tract of Fundamentals, but not in so particular a relation to the present question, as will excuse the reader from all addition of trouble at this time.

§. 17. I shall therefore on this account, and to perfect the answer to the present objection,

transgress the bounds of my first design, and enlarge awhile upon this inquiry. What may be defined the *formalis ratio*, wherein heresy, properly so called, must necessarily consist, and without which no person or Church can justly be deemed guilty of that dangerous sin, that piece of carnality.







CHAP. V.

OF THE NATURE OF HERESY. OUR CHURCH
SECURED FROM THE GUILT OF IT.

SECT. 1.

THE USE OF THE WORD IN SCRIPTURE.

§. 1. **A**ND first to prevent mistakes which may arise from the ambiguity of the word *αἵρεσις*, even in Scripture itself. It is certain that this is sometimes used more loosely in an indifferent sense, for any considerable distinction betwixt men of the same profession, as when the several schools of philosophers and the courses they took in them are called^a *αἵρέσεις καὶ ἀγωγαὶ*, their

^a Ἰππόβοτος ἔννεα φήσιν αἵρέσεις εἶναι τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ ἀγωγὰς, πρῶτην Μεγαρικήν. Phavorin, p. 74. l. 14.

heresies and ways of discipline, especially when any^b great number of men of such or such a denomination, do hold and keep together in maintenance of such a way.

2. Thus when the Sadducees were indeed the most eminent false teachers in the Jewish Church, yet not only their false doctrine is styled *αἵρεσις*, their heresy^c, but even that of the Pharisees^d; and that by St. Paul, even when he looks on it *ὡς ἀκριβεστάτην*, as the strictest and most exact sect of the Jewish religion^d.

3. And thus I suppose Christianity is called by the Jews at Rome^e. This heresy, without any evil character set upon it, as into which they desired then to make inquiry, and be instructed, knowing no more of it at present than by the partial and passionate rumours of men, by which they passed no judgment of it,

^b Ἡ δόξα πλείονων ἀνθρώπων πρὸς ἀλλήλους μὲν συμφωνούντων πρὸς ἄλλους δὲ διαφωνούντων, ἥ αἵρεσις ἐστί.
Phavor. *ibid*.

° Acts xv. 17.

^d Acts xv. 5.

° Acts xxvi. 5.

^e Acts xxviii. 22.

but only said that it was every where spoken against.

4. But of this notion of the word we do not now speak; if we did, it is visible that the style would belong to the way of the Romanists, were they never so purely orthodox, as well as to any other sort of either true or erroneous Christians, the consideration of the verity or falsity of the doctrines being no ingredient in this usage any more than in the origination of that word.

5. But the Scripture more frequently useth the word in an ill sense, with connotation of some fault either really inherent, or by them that use the word *thought* chargeable on that way, which they express by it.

6. Thus^g in Tertullus's speech the *αἵρεσις*, *heresy*, of the Nazarenes is looked on as an erroneous, dangerous, punishable way, and so^h in St. Paul's resuming of the accusation, where he acknowledges himself guilty of that they thus called heresy, *i. e.* deemed to be such.

7. Thus in the Epistles it constantly signi-

^g Acts xxiv. 5.

^h Ver. 14.

fies, infusions of ill ; sometimes divisions and breaches of charity and Christian communion, as 1 Cor. xi. 19, where αἰρέσεις, *heresies*, are but the interpretation of σχίσματα, *schisms* or *fractures*, v. 18 ; and so Gal. v. 20, where in the midst of uncharitable breaches, hatred, variance, emulations, wraths, strifes, seditions before, and envyings, murder after, αἰρέσεις, *heresies*, are enclosed, and so must receive their tincture from the society wherein they are found, and so denote schismatical divisions peculiarly, in a very ill sense indeed, as unquestionable “works of the fleshⁱ,” yet not precisely those that now we are to treat of, but as heresy and schism are sometimes promiscuously used the one for the other.

8. As for the strict, separate notion of the word, wherein it hath from the Apostles’ times come to ours, and is generally understood among men, that still remains to be fetched from one singular use of it^k ; whereof the false teachers among the Christians, bearing, saith he, a proportion with the false prophets among

ⁱ Gal. v. 19.

^k 2 Pet. ii. 1.

the Jews (those two words διδάσκαλοι and προφήται, *teachers* and *prophets*, without any connotation of predicting future events, signifying in sacred dialect one and the same thing; and so likewise *false teachers* and *false prophets*) he fortels them παρεισάξουσιν αἱρέσεις ἀπωλείας, *that they shall bring in*, either by the by, or (as παρὰ oft signifies) in contrariety to sound doctrine, heresies of destruction, or destructive ruinous heresies, destructive of that foundation laid by the Apostles; for such the doctrines appear to be of which he there speaks, being the denial of the great Article of our belief concerning our Redeemer, and such the Gnostic heresy is confessed to be, which is evidently there spoken of by St. Peter.

9. That all heresies should be equally destructive with this, we have no indications from that text, nay several enhancing circumstances are there discernible (if now that were any part of the enquiry) which may justly make a difference gradual both in respect of turpitude and danger betwixt that there specified, and sundry other heresies. Thus

much only must be thence concluded, that all the heresies that can be deemed proportionable, or parallel to that character which, in that singular place, the Scripture gives us of αἵρέσεις, are doctrinal breaches or separations from the faith as that signifies the true Christian doctrine, by Christ or His inspired and empowered servants, the Apostles, “once,” or “at once delivered to the saints.” Ἀἵρεσις ἐστὶν ἡ περὶ πίστεως οὐκ ἀληθοῦς δόξα, *heresy is an untrue or false opinion or doctrine concerning the faith*, was duly and fully resolved by Phavorinus, meaning by περὶ πίστεως any part of the faith truly so called, the difference betwixt heresy on one side, and infidelity or apostacy on the other side, being visibly this, that the two latter are the denying or renouncing the whole faith of Christ, but the former of any single part of it.





SECT. II.

OF MATTER OF FAITH.

1. HEREIN then the definition of heresy (in our present notion) being completed, viz. in its opposition to the faith of Christ in any one or more branches of it, and the disposition of the person, guilty thereof, being but extrinsic to the nature of the thing itself (as whether it be caused barely by ignorance, or whether it have in it some mixture of obstinacy, pride, or any other kind of carnality, whether it be only in the heart, contrary to believing with that, or else proceed farther to profession with the tongue, as faith also doth¹, these I say and the like being prescinded, and taken off from our present enquiry, as they must be from the

¹ Rom. x. 10.

examination of the *formalis ratio* of every other sin (which being once found out what formally it is, is allowed to be capable of many aggravating or extenuating circumstances and degrees, without varying of the species.) All that can now remain to be established in this first part of the enquiry is, to discern how far the faith of Christ may duly be extended, to what sorts of things it can properly belong, that so by the law of contraries, we may safely conclude, to what sorts of errors it is that the word heresy is to be extended.

2. And first, we must distinguish between matters of faith and rites or practices or customs of all, or any of the Apostles, for these latter being prudentially designed to some persons at some times, for some particular, occasional, and those mutable ends, as they are not founded in any universal precept, or doctrine of Christ's, so neither are they obliging to all future times, but only so far as they that so ordered did design them.

3. Thus we know the Canon of the Apostles and the Church assembled at Jerusalem con-

cerning things strangled and things offered to idols^m, are promulgate to the Gentiles at that time of Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia, from whom the occasion of that Council and Canon was taken; but when they pass farther, they promulgate them not, as appears by 1 Cor. viii. 9. Where, in that of Idolothyta he acknowledges the Corinthians' liberty not retrenched, save only in case of scandal.

4. And Baronius^u extends this observation to the Thessalonians, also though the evidence be not so convincing, upon force of that text^o, where repeating what Commandments he had given them by the Lord Jesus, he specifies only *ut abstineatis a fornicatione, that ye abstain from fornication*, without any mention of the other parts of the Canon.

5. But without relying on such arguments as this last of his (negative, and so inconcludent), such ordinances as these, accommodated to particular times and places and persons, are in the nature of them, temporary and variable, nay, not always the same at the

^m Acts xv.ⁿ An. 51. n. 58.^o 1 Thess. iv. 2, 3.

same time. The Church stories give us little reason to doubt, but the controversy concerning the time of keeping Easter, which at last brake out into such a tempest in the Church, had its original in the different traditions of the Apostles, St. John and St. Philip, produced by Polycrates for the Asiatic, as St. Peter and others by Victor for the other side.

6. And from thence as Polycarp and Anicetus, though each resolutely adhering to their several ways, did yet communicate one with another (as Irenæus tells Victor in his Epistle to him concerning this matter) so it is evident that such ritual differences disturb not the faith, nor infer heresy on either side. The words of Pope Gregory^p the First are express for it; *In unâ fide nihil officit sanctæ Ecclesiæ consuetudo diversa, Difference of customs is reconcilable with the unity of faith, and no detriment comes to holy Church by this difference.* This might be much more largely evinced if there were need of it.

7. First then, confining ourselves to the

^p Epist. exeg. 1. i. Indict. 9. Ep. 43. ed. Ben.

faith only; it is granted on all hands, that by faith here is meant the object or matter of a Christian's belief, not the belief itself: so it is visibly used in that eminent place of Jude 3. *πίστις παραδοθείσα*, *the faith delivered to the saints*, i. e. the particular doctrines which altogether made up the saints' belief.

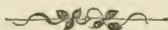
8. Secondly, that this object of belief is nothing but the revealed doctrine of God, actually proposed by Him and preached to men, on purpose that they that have so much reverence to God, and confidence of His veracity, that they question not the truth of any of his affirmations, may by faith receive and believe and act according to them.

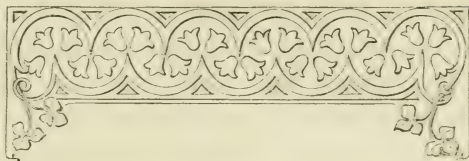
9. For this belief being a duty of the first Commandment, and so as all other parts of divine worship terminated ultimately in God (or else it is not Divine, but at the most but human faith) as it truly comprehends all that is, or shall ever be thus conveyed to us by Divine Revelation; so can it not be any farther extended, so as to comprise those things, even of God, which are unrevealed.

10. Many verities no doubt there are in God's secret cabinet, which though most true in themselves, and most worthy of belief, in case they were revealed to us, yet are never like to come out from under that veil, and so can never be objects of our belief.

11. Thirdly, that even of those things that have at any time been revealed, all are not incumbent on us, so as to lay obligation on every man to comprehend, or believe them; many passages of Holy Writ, though, when they are proposed to us convincingly as such, they may not be disbelieved, may yet safely be unobserved, or not understood, or escape out of our memory. *Ἡ πίστις παραδοθεῖσα*, the "faith" by way of emphasis and excellence, that was "once delivered to the saints," and ought by all such to be contended for, is that which was set out by Christ or His Apostles from Him, to be by all men believed to their righteousness and confessed to their salvation^q.

^q Rom. x. 10.





SECT. III.

THE TWO WAYS OF CONVEYING THE FAITH TO US.

1. THIS then being the adequate object of the Christian's faith, those verities which have been revealed to us by God to be thus believed to righteousness, called therefore *ὑγιαίνοντες λόγοι*, words not only true, but wholesome^r: the belief whereof is required in order to our soul's health; the next enquiry is, How we that live in the same distance from Christ and His Apostles in respect of time, that we are situate from Heaven which now contains Christ in respect of place, may come within any reach of these revelations of Christ, or to any competent undoubted assurance, that those are such indeed which are pretended to be so.

^r 1 Tim. vi. 3.

2. And to this also my concession shall be as liberal as any Romanist can wish, that there are *two ways of conveying such revelations to us*^q, one in *writing*, the other by *oral tradition*; the former in the Gospels and other writings of the Apostles, &c. which make up the sacred writ, or Canon of the New Testament; the latter in the Apostles' preachings to all the Churches of their plantations, which are nowhere set down for us in the sacred writ, but conserved as *deposita*^r by them to whom they were entrusted.

3. And although in sundry respects the former of these be much the more faithful, steady way of conveyance, and for want thereof many things may possibly have perished, or been changed by their passage through many hands, this much being on these grounds confessed by Bellarmine himself, that

^q Basil. de Spir. Sanc. c. 27. Τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πεφυλαγμένων δογμάτων καὶ κηρυγμάτων, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐγγράφου διδασκαλίας ἔχομεν τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως διαδοθέντα ἡμῖν ἐν μυστηρίῳ παρεδεξάμεθα.

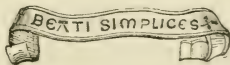
^r 1 Tim. vi, 20; 2 Tim. i. 14.

“the Scripture is the most certain and safe rule of belief^s ;” yet there be no less veracity in the tongues than the hands, in the preachings than the writings of the Apostles ; nay, *Prior sermo quam liber, prior sensus quam stylus*, saith Terllian^t, the Apostles *preached* before they *writ*, planted Churches before they addressed Epistles to them. On these grounds I make no scruple to grant, that *Apostolical traditions*, such as are truly so, as well as *Apostolical writings*, are equally^u the matter of that Christian’s belief, who is *equally secured* by the fidelity of the conveyance, that as one is Apostolical writing, so the other is Apostolical tradition.

^s S. Scrip. regulam credendi certissimam tutissimamque esse. De verbo Dei, lib. i. cap. 2.

^t De Testim. an. c. 5

^u Ἀμφότερα τὴν αὐτὴν ἰχὺν ἔχει πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν, καὶ τοῦτοις οὐδεὶς ἀντερεῖ, ὅστις καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν γοῦν θεσμῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πεπείραται. Basil. de Spir. Sanc. c. 27.



SECT. IV.

THE TESTIMONY FROM WHICH WE RECEIVE
THE FAITH.

1. NEXT then the enquiry must proceed by examining what is this equal way of conveyance, common to both these, upon strength of which we become obliged to receive such or such a tradition for Apostolical.

2. And this again is acknowledged not to be any Divine testimony; for God hath nowhere affirmed in Divine Writ, that the Epistle inscribed of Paul the Apostle to the Romans, consisting of so many periods as now it is in our Bibles, was ever written by that Apostle, nor are there any inward characters or signatures, or beams of light in the writing itself, that can be admitted, or pretended for testimonies of this, any more than the like may exact to be admitted as witnesses, that the Creed called the Apostles' was indeed, in the full sense of it, delivered to the Churches.

3. It remains then, that herein on both sides we rest content with human testimonies of undoubted authority, or such as there is not any rational motive to distrust, and of which alone the matter is capable. For as in case of question concerning the Epistle to the Romans, whether this be it which was addressed by St. Paul to that Church, the only regular way of satisfying the question, is 1. by devolution or appeal to the authority of those Fathers and Councils to whom it was *de facto* sufficiently testified and approved, (viz. by examination of the records of that Church to whom it was written, and by whom received, through the hands of some trusty messenger of that Apostle, such as Phebe that ministered unto him, and by other creditable ways of confirmation,) and secondly, and by that consequence, to those very original records and proofs of undoubted fidelity: so the way of trial of any tradition, pretended to be Apostolical, whether it be such or no, is by devolving it to those same, or the like Fathers and Councils, which having occasion and com-

modity to examine the truth of the matter by the records or testimonies of those Churches to which it was delivered, found it sufficiently testified by them, that it was in truth according as is pretended.

4. And from hence it follows, that as we of this age have no other way of judging of the Canon of Scripture, or of any book, or chapter, or period contained in it, but by the affirmation and authority of those testifiers in the first ages of the Church, either by their writings, or by the unquestioned relations of others, brought down and made known to us; so are we as unable to judge of Apostolical traditions unwritten, whether this or that doctrine be such or no, unless it be thus by the undoubted affirmations of the ancients (who are presumable by their antiquity to know the truth, and by their uniform consent neither to mistake themselves nor to deceive us) communicated and conveyed to us.

5. It is not possible for any man or men of the greatest understanding or integrity, to see or know what is not done within the reach of

their faculties, unless either they be inspired by God, or otherwise informed either mediately or immediately from those, who had really knowledge of it. Stories of former times are not wont to be written by the strength of men's natural parts, invention, or judgment, but only by consulting of those records, either dead or living, by whose help such matters of fact have been preserved. Every thing else is but conjecture, and that very uncertain, the utmost probability in such matters being little worth, that being oft-times done which really was, and, much more to us who know not the motives of actions far removed from us, is of all things least probable to have been done. Only a creditable witness, such as no prudent man hath reason to distrust either as nescient or false, is worth considering, or able to found belief in this matter.





SECT. V.

THE QUALIFICATIONS OF SUCH TESTIMONIES.

1. Now then comes the upshot of the enquiry, what qualifications there are of a testimony or testifier, without which, it or he may not be thus deemed creditable, or ἀξιόπιστος, *worthy to be believed* by a sober Christian; and where these qualifications are to be found: which when we have once resolved, it will also be possible for us to pass some judgment of traditions duly styled Apostolical which as such must be allowed to be the object of our faith.

2. And herein I shall hope also that the resolution will be unquestionable, if it be bounded by those three terms to which

Vincentius Lirinensis^x in his defence of the Catholic faith against heresies and innovations hath directed us, *universitas, antiquitas, consensus, universality, antiquity, consent, viz.* That the testimony, we depend on be the result of *all*, the *ancients, consenting*, or without any considerable dissent. Or, in yet fewer words, a Catholic testimony, truly such, *i. e.* universal in all respects; 1. of *place*, 2. of *time*, 3. of *persons*.

3. For first, if it be not testified from all places, it is not qualified for our belief, as Catholic in respect of *place*, because the faith being one and the same, and by all and every of the Apostles preached, and deposited in all their plantations, what was ever really thus taught by any of them in *any* Church, will also be found to have been taught and received in *all* other Apostolical Churches.

4. To which purpose the words of Irenæus are express; “^yThe Church disseminated

^x Cont. Hær. c. 2.

^y Hanc prædicationem cum acceperit et hanc fidem . . . Ecclesia, et quidem in universum mundum disseminata, diligenter custodit quasi unam domum inhabitans, et similiter credit iis quasi

over all the world, having received this preaching and this faith, preserves it diligently, as the inhabitants of the same house, believes them alike, as having the same soul and heart, and teaches and preaches and delivers them alike, as having the same mouth; for though their languages are unlike, the virtue of tradition is one and the same, and neither do the Churches which are founded in Germany, believe or deliver otherwise than those which were constituted in Spain, in France, in the Orient, in Egypt, in Africa, in the middle of the world, but as one and the same sun shines through the whole world, so doth the light and preaching of the truth in every place where it is received, disperse itself."

5. So also Tertullian^z de Prescript: c. 20. Presently therefore the Apostles having first

unam animam habens, et unum cor, et consonanter hæc predicat et docet et tradit, quasi unum possidens os. Nam etsi in mundo loquelæ dissimiles sunt, sed tamen virtus traditionis una et eadem est, &c. Lib. I. c. 10. ed. Ben.

^z Statim igitur Apostoli—primo per Judæam contestatâ fide in Jesum Christum, et Ecclesiis institutis, dehinc in orbem profecti, eandem doctrinam ejusdem fidei nationibus promulgaverunt, et

in Judea testified the faith and instituted Churches, and then taken their journey over all the world, made known to the nations the same doctrine of the same faith, and so planted Churches in every City, from which the rest of the Churches afterward borrowed their seeds of faith and doctrine, and so daily continue to do and are formed into Churches."

6. From which premises his conclusion is just that which I here deduce; "^aIf so, then it is evident that every doctrine must be deemed true which conspires with the Apostolical Churches, which are the wombs and originals whence the faith came out, as maintaining that without any question which the Churches received from the Apostles, the

proinde Ecclesias apud unamquamque civitate condiderunt; a quibus traducem fidei, et semina doctrinæ cæteræ deinde Ecclesiæ mutuatae sunt, et quotidie mutantur ut Ecclesia fiant.

^a Si hæc ita sint, constat proinde omnem doctrinam, quæ cum illis Ecclesiis Apostolicis matricibus et originalibus fidei conspiraret, veritati deputandam, id sine dubio tenentem quod Ecclesiæ ab Apostolis. Apostoli a Christo, Christus a Deo accepit, omnem vero doctrinam de mendacio præjudicandam quæ sapiat contra veritatem Ecclesiarum, et Apostolorum, et Christi, et Dei. Ibid. c. 21.

Apostles from Christ, and Christ from God ; and that all other doctrine is under the prejudice of being false, which is contrary to the truth of the Churches of the Apostles, of Christ, and of God."

7. It is true indeed that whatsoever one Church professeth to have received from the Apostle that planted it, is of itself sufficient, without the confirmation of all others, to beget and establish belief in Him to Whom it thus testifies: whereupon Tertullian^b refers the enquirer to that Apostolic Church that is next him, be it Corinth, if he live in Achaia; Philippi or Thessalonica, if in Macedonia; Ephesus if in Asia; or if he be near Italy, Rome. But this is no farther to be extended, than while we suppose without enquiry, that other Apostolical Churches have received and are ready to testify the same, which

^b Age jam qui vult curiositatem melius exercere in negotio salutis tuæ, percurre Ecclesias Apostolicas . . . proxima est tibi Achaia? habes Corinthum; si non longe es a Macedonia, habes Philippos, habes Thessalonicenses: si potes in Asiam tendere, habes Ephesum; si tamen Italiæ adjaces, habes Roma. De Prescr. cap. 36.

presumption, or supposal must then cease, when upon enquiry we find the contrary; there being then none of this first kind of universality, viz. of *place*, and so far no validity in the testification.

8. Secondly for the universality of *time*, that must be cautiously understood; not so as to signify it a prejudice to any doctrine, if in some one or more ages it have not been universally received; for then there could be no heretics at any time in the world, but so as to extend to the first and purest, and not only to the latter ages of the Church.

9. That which was delivered by the Apostles was certainly received in that first age, wherein they lived; and by careful enquiry will be found from their monuments to have been then among them. And that which by this trial is discerned to be of later date, not to be descried in the first times, nor testified by sufficient authority to be derived from thence, falls short again of this second part of universality in respect of *time*.

10. Thirdly, for the *consent* of testifiers,

that is also necessary to the rendering it a Catholic and authentic testimony; any considerable number of *dissenters* being of necessity to weaken our belief, and infuse reasons of doubting, and a preponderancy of dissenters the other way to weigh down (at least to incline) the belief to the contrary.





SECT. VI.

WHERE THESE QUALIFICATIONS MAY BE FOUND.
OF THE CONSENT OF ANCIENT DOCTORS, AND
DEFINITIONS OF COUNCILS TRULY GENERAL.

1. THIS therefore being thus established, and the conjunction of all the three sorts of universality being in all reason required to the authentic testifying of tradition; it is soon defined, where these qualifications are to be looked for, and where they may be found.

2. Questionless not in any one Bishop, or succession of Bishops in any See, for many latter ages, not including the Apostles; for whatever his pretensions may be to authority and supremacy over all other Churches, this can never convert a particular, whether man

or Church, into the universal, nor make his testimony authentic according to those rational and Christian rules which we have learned from Lirinensis.

3. There are many Apostolic Churches beside that of Rome: great difference of Rome in these latter ages from the Primitive Apostolic Rome to whom the *depositum* was entrusted. And there are many dissenters to be found, who have always lived and flourished in the Catholic Church, which never acknowledged those doctrines to be delivered to them by the Apostles, which the Church of Rome hath of late assumed to be such. And for any privilege annexed to that Bishop's Chair, or to that society of men which live in external communion with him, that he or they can never define any thing to be (*de fide*) part of the faith which is not so. As that is beyond all other their pretensions most denied by us, and least attempted to be proved by the Romanist, and not so much as consented on among themselves; so must it in no reason be supposed in this dispute, or

taken for granted by them, but is rejected with the same ease that it is mentioned by them.

4. As for other pretenders, I know not any, save only that of the universal consent of the Doctors of the first ages, or that of an Universal Council. And both of these we are willing to admit with such cautions only as the matter exacts, and the grounds of defining already laid.

5. The *universal consent* of the Doctors of the first ages, bearing testimony that such or such a doctrine was from the Apostles' preachings delivered to all Churches by them planted, or their general conform testimony herein, without any considerable dissenters producible, is, I acknowledge, ἀξιόπιστος, *authentic* or *worthy of belief*, and so hath been made use of by the orthodox^c of all times, as sufficient for the rejecting of any new doctrine.

^c Πίστιν ἣν ἐξ ἀρχῆς παρελάβομεν καὶ ἔχομεν παραδοθεῖσαν, καὶ τηρουμένην ἐν τῇ Καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ μεχρὶ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀπὸ τῶν μακαρίων Ἀποστόλων. Epist. Orthodox. Episc. Synodi Antioch. Paul. Samosat.

6. So likewise is the declaration of a *General Council*, *free*, and gathered from *all* quarters, and in such other respects, truly so called, founded in the examination of the monuments of the several Apostolical plantations, either produced in Council, or authentically confirmed from the letters of the several Churches, either formerly prepared in Provincial and National Councils, or otherwise sufficiently confirmed to them, and this declaration *conciliarly* promulgate, and after the promulgation *universally received and accepted by the Church diffusive*; or else it is evident all this while, that it is not a Catholic (truly so styled) testimony.

7. For that any Council of Bishops, the most numerous that ever was in the world (much less a but major part of those few that be there present) is not yet really the Universality of Christians, is too evident to be doubted of.

Missæ. Bib. Gr. Pat. tom. i. p. 30. &c. Οὕτως ὡμολόγησαν οἱ ἅγιοι πατέρες, καὶ παρέδωκαν ἡμῖν ὁμολογεῖν καὶ πιστεῦειν. δεδεικται οὖν τὸ σόφισμα ἀδύνατον, &c. Dionys. Alexand. Epist. contr. Paul. Samosat. in Bibl. Pat. Gr. tom. i. p. 275. E.

8. It can only then be pretended, that it is the *universal representative*, or such an assembly, wherein is contained the virtue and influences of the whole Universal Church. And thus indeed I suppose it to be, as often as the doctrines there established by universal consent (founded in Scripture and tradition) have either been before discussed and resolved in each Provincial Council, which have sent their delegates thither from all the parts of the world, or else have *post factum*, after the promulgation, been accepted by them, and acknowledged to agree with that faith which they had originally received.

9. That the former of these is a considerable ingredient in a General Council, appears to be S. Augustine's judgment in l. 7. *de Bapt. contra Donatist.* c. 53. "It is safe for us not to proceed rashly to those things which have not been begun in any Catholic Provincial Council, and determined in a Plenary or Universal. That we must, if we will be safe in our pronouncing, take care to affirm that which in the regiment of our God and Christ Jesus our

Saviour, is confirmed by the Confession of the Universal Church^d.” Whereas the Confession of the Universal Church (or their testimony that such a doctrine hath been delivered to the Church by the Apostles) is that which gives validity to a doctrine, so this universal Confession is then truly such, when it is the determination of a General Council prepared for in the Provincial Councils, of which that General is made up. And what hath not been according to this course established, or the truth whereof (as he elsewhere speaks^e) is not first *e'liquata*, *strained out*, or *extracted* by Provincial Councils, and so solidated or put together by a General Council, may very safely be disbelieved; for saith he, “How could that obscure controversy be brought to a clear declaration and confirmation of a General Council, if it were not first thoroughly handled

^d Nobis tutum est in ea non progredi aliqua temeritate sententiæ, quæ nullo in Catholico regionali concilio cæpta, nullo plenario concilio terminata sunt. Id autem Fiduciâ securæ vocis asserere quod in Gubernatione Domini Dei nostri et Salvatoris Jesu Christi universalis ecclesiæ confessione roboratum est.

^e Ibid. l. ii. c. 4.

and cleared by the conferences and disputes of Bishops through all the regions of the world ^f?"

10. And this seems to be acknowledged by Baronius^g, who speaking of the Provincial Synods called in the West, before the meeting of any Universal Synod in the East: not only affirms it to be *Usus pristinus, the ancient custom*, but withal takes notice of this end or design of it, that those Bishops of the West, which could not all reasonably take such a journey, "might yet by some means give their suffrages^h," supposing, as it was reason, that the Council could not be truly Universal, in which all the regions in the world did not some way give their votes; and farther, that this was the way by which the Pope was enabled to send Legates *a latere*, not only in his own name, but of the whole Western Church, viz. by the

^f Ibid. Quomodo potuit ista res—ad plenarii Concilii luculentam illustrationem confirmationemque perducı, nisi primo diutius per orbis terrarum regiones multis hinc atque hinc disputationibus et collationibus Episcoporum pertractata constaret?

^g Tom. vi. An. 451. n. 20.

^h Aliquo tamen modo suum ferrent suffragium.

Metropolitans in the Provincial Synods sending letters to the Pope, which contained their sense in that matter which was to be debated in the General Council.

11. Many evidences of this custom and reasons of the observing of it, in order to the rendering a Council truly General, might be farther added, but this is, I suppose, sufficient.

12. Only by the way, I add, That by this expedient the want of General Councils might in some degree be supplied, the concordant declarations of each Provincial Council compared and communicated, being (for the testifying of Apostolical tradition, or the Catholic sense of the Church) equivalent to the voice of a General Council.

13. So we find the practice in Eusebiusⁱ; whereupon the rising of Novatus a Roman Presbyter, first a Provincial Council at Rome, *ἰδίως τὲ κατὰ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐπαρχίας τῶν κατὰ χωρὰν, and several in the several provinces in every region*, the Pastors or Bishops conciliarly considering of the matter *δογματίζεται τοῖς πᾶσι,*

ⁱ Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 6. κεφ. μγ.

the resolution was made by all of them against Novatus. Then follow the letters of Cornelius Bishop of Rome to Fabius of Alexandria, giving him the relation both of the Roman Synod, and of the determinations of all the Bishops through Italy and Africa and those regions; and others of Cyprian, and those with him in Africa, declaring τὸ καὶ αὐτοὺς συνευδόκειν, *the concordance of their judgment herein.* But this by the way in passing.

14. And for the latter of these there can be as little doubt, there being no possibility without it, that the voice of a Council never so General should be the testimony of the whole Church.

15. When a doctrine is conciliarly agreed on, it is then promulgate to all, and the universal, though but tacit approbation and reception thereof, the no considerable contradiction given to it in the Church, is a competent evidence, that this is the judgment and concordant tradition of the whole Church, though no such resolution of Provincial Synods have preceded.

16. But if that be also wanting; if the sentence of a major part of Bishops in a Council be not (when it comes to be declared to the world) admitted or received in the Church, as consonant to the doctrine of the Apostles, written or unwritten; if the grounds whereon it hath been by the Council defined (for so the suffrages are conciliarly to be delivered together with their grounds and reasons of them, out of Scripture or tradition) be by others which sat not in that Council found to be false or vain, and are as such contradicted and protested against: this evidently prejudiceth the authority of that Council, and shews their incompetency for the work (in hand) of universal testification.

17. On which grounds it is, that S. Hilary in his Tract of Synods^k against the Arians, setting down all the Creeds which after the Nicene Council had been set out in several

^k Si quid rectum atque ex doctrinis Apostolicis deprehendetur —vos an Catholica, an hæretica sint, fidei vestræ judicio comprobate. p. 220.

times and places, desires all the Bishops of France and Britain, &c. to whom he writes, to give their judgment whether they be Catholic or Heretical.





SECT. VII.

THE BENEFIT FROM GENERAL COUNCILS. REVERENCE DUE TO THEM. TO THE FIRST FOUR ESPECIALLY.

1. FROM these premises thus briefly deduced, it now appears, 1. What it is that we owe to the Councils of the Church. I shall most safely express it in the words of Vincentius¹, “What hath the Church ever brought forth by the decrees of Councils, save only that what was before simply believed, the same should after

¹ C. 23. Quid unquam aliud Conciliorum decretis enisa est, nisi ut quod antea simpliciter credebatur, hoc idem postea diligentius crederetur? quod antea lentius prædicabatur, hoc idem postea instantius prædicaretur? quod antea securius colebatur, hoc idem postea sollicitius excoleretur? Hoc, inquam, semper, neque quicquam præterea hæreticorum novitatibus excitata Conciliorum suorum decretis Catholica perfecit Ecclesia, ut quod prius à majoribus solâ traditione susceperat, hoc deinde posteris etiam per Scripturæ chirographum consignaret.

be believed more diligently ; what was before less vigorously preached, that same should after be preached more instantly ; what was before more securely observed, that same should after be more solicitously dressed or cultivated ? This, I say, and nothing but this hath the Catholic Church, stirred up by heretics' new doctrines, done by the decrees of Councils ; what before it had received from the ancestors by tradition only, it hath after committed to writing, and as an obligation under its own hand consigned to posterity."

2. In a word, that which was before the constant belief of the whole Church received from the Apostles' times and preaching, and by Conciliar discussions and search found to be so, is thus delivered down to us by those Councils, and testified by them to be that which they found in the Church universally. This I suppose the meaning of the ἀνακρινέτωσαν ἀλλήλοις τὰ δόγματα τῆς εὐσεβείας, in the thirty-seventh Apostolic Canon ; "*Let them in their Councils discuss and examine the doctrines of piety,*" enquire, and discern what have been delivered

to them as such, and then τὰς ἐμπιπτούσας ἐκκλησιαστικὰς ἀντιλογίας διαλυέτωσαν, *let them answer or satisfy the incidental objections which shall happen to be made to them in the Church.* And so no new doctrine ever received from their authority or power of defining, but the ancient Apostolical Catholic pious doctrine testified to us.

3. Secondly, It is hence manifest also, what is the ground of that reverence that is by all sober Christians deemed due and paid to the four first General Councils, which Vincentius looks on as the great Conservatories of tradition, wherein he might fitly instance, and which Pope Gregory^m the Great professeth to believe as he doth the four Gospels, and Theodosius Cenobiarcha so much commended by Cyrilⁿ and others, anathematized all, who are not of that opinion, viz. because 1. As Theodoret Hist. l. i. c. 8. out of Athanasius declares of the Nicene, that they set down and convinced

^m In Saba. Suidas in verb. Ἀναστάσιος.

ⁿ See Baron. An. 511. n. 33. Si quis quatuor sanctas Synodos non tanti esse existimat quanti quatuor Evangelia, sit anathema.

the truth of their doctrine, ἐξ ἐγγραφῶν μετ' εὐσεβείας ἐννοουμένων λέξεων “*out of the Scripture words understood with piety,*” i. e. so as the pious Orthodox Fathers had always understood them, οὐκ ἑαυτοῖς εὔροντες τὰς λέξεις, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν πατέρων ἔχοντες μαρτυρίαν, “*not inventing words or phrases for themselves, but having testimony from the Fathers*” for what they wrote, (for, saith he, the Bishops of Rome and Alexandria for almost 130 years had found fault with them, who affirmed the Son to be ποίημα, a creature, καὶ μὴ ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ, &c. *not of the same substance with the Father,*) so it was true of all the other three; they fetched their definitions regularly from Scripture, and that sense thereof, which the general Churches had received down from the Apostles, and so were approved and received universally in all Churches, not as those which had formed any new articles, but which conserved the *Deposita* entrusted to the Churches, and in time of need brought them forth and discovered them, to the securing of the truth against Heretics.

4. Secondly, because these being so near the

Apostles' times, and gathered as soon as the Heterodox opinions appeared, the sense of the Apostles might more easily be fetched from those men and Churches, to whom they had committed it, and it was not in the power of Subtilty and Craft to infuse their poison indiscernibly into those Fountains.

5. This account is also given by Lirinensis, where speaking of the way of confuting Heretics “^oby producing and comparing the concordant doctrines of the old Fathers,” he puts in this among other cautions. “^pAll heresies are not always thus to be impugned, but only those that are fresh risen, and have not yet had time to vitiate the volumes of the Fathers, or falsify the rules of the ancient faith :” Wisely foreseeing that in this case there is no course of dealing with, or convincing of heretics, unless it be either by the sole

° C. 38. Prolatis atque collatis veterum Magistrorum concordantibus sibimet sententiis.

p Sed neque semper neque omnes hæreses hoc modo impugnandæ sunt, sed novitiæ recentesque tantummodo, antequam infalsârint vetustæ fidei regulas.

authority of Scriptures, or by the Councils of Catholics, which were long ago universal ^q.

6. Thirdly, Some consideration may also be had of the special matter of the definitions of those four Councils, which were all spent upon the Deity and Incarnation of Christ, and the Trinity, the great Fundamental Doctrines of Christianity; and to that also Vincentius directs us, in another caution of his, “^rThe ancient consent of the Holy Fathers is not to be sought and followed in all the little questions of the Divine law, but only, sure principally, in the Rule of Faith,” those which the Apostles thought necessary to be believed, and so taught them universally.

7. And therefore of the Scriptures, of the Creed (that *Regula fidei una, sola immobilis et irreformabilis, that one only immoveable and unreformable rule of faith*, as Tertullian calls it, De Vel. Virg. c. 1.) and of those four

^q Aut solâ Scripturarum autoritate, aut jam antiquitus Universalibus Catholicorum Conciliis.

^r Ibid. Antiqua Sanctorum Patrum consensio, non in omnibus divinæ legis quæstiunculis, sed solum certè præcipuè, in fidei regulâ—investiganda et est sequenda.

Councils, as the Repositories of all true Apostolical tradition, I suppose it very regular to affirm, that the entire body of the Catholic Faith, is to be established, and all Heresies convinced, or else that there is no just reason, that any doctrine should be condemned as such.

8. This I have ^selsewhere cleared both out of the express words of the Council of Ephesus, the third of those four, "that no man should produce, or offer to any convert whether from Gentilism, Judaism, Heresy, any other belief beside that which was established by the Fathers at Nice:" from the Greeks in the Council of Florence, that no man, except he were mad, would charge that Faith of imperfection. From the Latins, who acknowledged there, that all difference as well as contrariety of Faith was forbidden by those Fathers, and that a bare explication of the same for the whole Church was not lawful for any to attempt, but an Universal Council: from the Epistle of Celestine there cited, that the Faith delivered

* Reply to Cath. Gent Ch. viii. sect. 2. n. 4,—7. Works, vol. ii.

by the Apostles admits neither increase nor diminution : and lastly from the Catechism collected out of Costerus, Petrus à Soto, and others, set out by command of the Archbishop of Triers, that there was never any heresy which might not be condemned by the Apostles' Creed. Add to these the authority of the Greek Church, as we find it testified by Jeremias Patriarch of Constantinople, in their censure of the Germans, where having recited the Nicene Creed (without the filioque) as proposed by the Nicene confirmed by the Constantinopolitan Fathers, p. 13. he adds, *Hæc est illa communis confessio omnium Sanctorum Patrum, Hæc est illa divina, Sanctissima, perfecta, ac universalis per orbem terrarum fusi populi Christiani tessera. Hæc est certissimus universæ Christianæ Fidei limes*; and again, *veluti quoddam cœleste integrum et incorruptum—divino numine afflatorum hominum depositum*, p. 15.





SECT. VIII.

OF THE SUBSEQUENT GENERAL COUNCILS. THE ROMANISTS' DEFERENCE TO THEM.

1. IF after all this it be still farther demanded, what reverence is due to all other Universal Councils, and why not the same as to these four? I answer, First, That the reasons of a difference have been sufficiently given already, and so as is, *ad homines*, to the Romanists, unreprouable, it being most evident that among them there is difference made between some of those, which yet they deem to be all Œcumenical Councils.

2. For First, it is certain that they reckon above eight of these; and yet even the Bishops of Rome themselves in their exaltation to the Papacy, who would sure be supposed to under-

take the maintaining of the whole Catholic Faith, do profess to maintain no more than the eight first of them. The words of this profession we have set down out of their own Day-Book, in the Corpus Juris Canon. In this form, "I profess to keep whole to a tittle the eight holy Universal Councils, the first at Nice...and to esteem them worthy of like honour and veneration, and by all means to follow and preach all that they have promulgated and decreed, and with heart and mouth to condemn all that they have condemned^t."

3. Secondly it is as evident, that all Bishops of Rome in former times, have not (at least with equal reverence) received all these eight, which these now thus receive. I shall give an instance or two.

4. ^uPope Nicolaus the first, in the damnation of Photius, after the authority of God and

^t Decret. Par. 1. dist. 16. c. 8. Sancta osto universalia Concilia i. e. Primum Nicenum—immutata servare et pari honore et veneratione digna habere, et quæ prædicaverunt et statuerunt modis omnibus sequi et prædicare, quæque condemnaverunt ore et corde condemnare profiteor.

^u Ep. 7. c. 1. Concil. To. 6. p. 496.

the Princes of the Apostles, Peter and Paul, mentioning that also of all the holy and venerable universal Councils, numbers but ^xsix of them; and this Anno Ch. 862. that is, 80 years after the holding of the Seventh Council.

5. And so also doth ^yPope Adrian II. his successor, Epist. 26. ad Carolum Calvum.

6. And Binius that in his ^zmargin takes notice of these two passages, and ^apromiseth to render a reason thereof afterwards, when he comes to the ^bdue place of performing that promise, speaks not a word of that matter, unless this be it, that “Anastasius Bibliothecarius saith of two Archbishops; *Epistolas Pontificis ad libitum falsásse, that they falsified at their pleasure the Epistle of Pope Nicolaus.* Which if it were granted to be true, yet neither

^x Omnium simul sanctorum atque venerandorum sex Conciliorum autoritate.

^y Nihil audemus judicare quod possit Niceno Concilio et quinque cæterorum conciliorum regulis—obviare. Vide Concil. Tom. 6. p. 690.

^z Ibid. p. 496.

^a Cur hic Nicolaus, et infra Hadrianus sex tantum Œcumenicas Synodos nominent, dicam infra in notis Conc. Rom. iii. Sub.

^b Not. in Conc. Rom. iii. Tom. 6. Conc. p. 655.

concludes it that they thus falsified this particular passage in this Epistle, which indeed nothing concerned the cause of those Archbishops, nor can be any way deemed applicable to Pope Adrian doing the same, of whom neither Anastasius nor Binius himself so much as suggest any such thing, and therefore this was certainly a most gainless artifice of evasion, and an indication that there was no better to be found, to salve this business.

7. Baronius in his reciting that Epistle of Nicolaus, hath in effect the same ^cMarginal observation, before Binius, and promiseth to render the reason of it, afterward on another occasion, not directing us where that should be looked for; yet he defers it not long, for he doth it in the very next Section, rendering this only account of it. 1. That ^din all the other Patriarchal Churches but Constantinople, there

^c To. 10. p. 275. An. Ch. 863. n. 5. Cur tam Nicolaus hic quàm ejus successor Adrianus—sex tantum Œcumenicas Synodos nominet, inferius ab autore aliâ occasione dicetur.

^d In reliquis omnibus Ecclesiis Patriarchalibus Orientis, Constantinopolitanâ exceptâ, sex tantum Œcumenicas Synodos in publicis confessionibus nominari consuevisse.

were only six Œcumenical Councils named in their public Confessions, citing Photius's Epistle for it; and thence concluding that what Nicolas did, was done by the other Patriarchal Sees, even by his enemies' confession. Secondly, that the like cause was to be rendered for both, that till Anastasius helped them to a translation of the Acts of that Synod out of pure copies, they did not give it the title of an ^eŒcumenical Council, and according ^fNicolas thus long also suspended his judgment.

8. But Binius which surely saw these answers of Baronius, could not (though he were much distressed, as hath appeared) think fit to make use of either of them, or refer the reader to them, though he bids Vide Baron. An. 863. n. 20. &c. which belongs to another matter.

9. And indeed the first part of the Cardinal's account doth confess that no other Patriarchal

* Non eodem præconio nempe titulo Œcumenico fuerunt eam prosecuti. Baro. an. 863. n. 6.

^f Nicolaus judicium suspendit suum ex dictâ causâ.

See but Constantinople did at this time receive this Council. And so Photius then Patriarch of Constantinople, which most zealously asserted it, doth acknowledge, in his ^sEncyclical Epistle to the Archbishops of the Orient. And these Patriarchal Sees had great reason so to forbear; for they were none of them present either in person, or by Legates, or proxies, at that Council, as may well appear by the same ^hBaronius in his setting down the history of it: confessing that Tarasius's Legate, could not come to them; that when they were as far as Palestine, they heard of the death of Theodorus Patriarch of Jerusalem; and were advertised by some Monks, how dangerous it was to go either to the Patriarch of Antioch or Alexandria, and consequently were persuaded to give over the attempt. As for the pre-

^s An. 785. n. 40.

^h Ep. 2. p. 60. *Τίνες τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν Ἀποστολικὸν ὕμῶν θρόνον ἐκκλησίαι μεχρὶ τῆς ἐκτῆς τὰς οἰκουμενικὰς ἀριθμοῦσαι* (so it should be read, not ἀριθμῆσαι) *συνόδους, τὴν ἐβδόμην οὐκ ἴσασιν; and αὐτὴν δὲ ἀνακηρύττειν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας οὕτω τυχεῖν ἐπιγνώσεως.* Ibid.

tended Legates of those Sees, they were evidently but Impostors, John and Thomas the Presbyters were not sent by the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch (and for the See of Jerusalem it was void, as was said, by the death of Theodorus,) but were sent only by those Monks or Hermits of Palestine, as appears by the letters which they brought with them, beginning thus, Τοῖς Πανιέροις, &c. ἡμεῖς οἱ ταπεινοὶ καὶ τῶν τὴν ἔρημον παροικεῖν ἐφιεμένων ἐσχάτοι.

“Having read your letters, we the mean, and last or lowest of those that have desired to live in the desert,” or the Hermetic life. See

ⁱ Concil. Nic. 2. Act. 3. And so this being most true, is very far from an answer to the objection; it is a large addition to the force of it, as far as concerns the authority of that Council.

10. And for the other part, that the Latins as yet wanted pure copies of it, that can as little be pretended so many years after the holding of that Council, especially when the Acts of it had now long since, immediately

ⁱ Concil. tom. v. p. 594. E.

after the making them, been discussed in the Council of Frankfort, and by Pope Adrian I. defended against that Council.

11. That which ^kBellarmino adventures on in this matter is yet more strange, and unreconcilable with the confession of Baronius; for Baronius had confessed that Anastasius had translated that Council out of a pure copy, and so brought it to Rome; and yet this other Cardinal would persuade us, that long after Anastasius, even after the time of Thomas Aquinas and Halensis, the acts of 7 Councils lay hid, and so were not produced till that last age wherein himself had lived; which, if it were granted him to be true, it would sure be little for the dignity and authority of that Council.

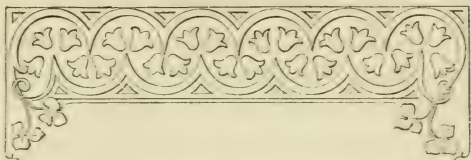
12. Farther yet; in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, set out emendate by the command of Pope Gregory XIII, there is no mention of any more than six General Councils, save only in that one passage out of the Day-Book of the Pope's profession to maintain the eight,

^k De Imag. lib. i. cap. 22.

which is to me an argument, that all General Councils are not so revered by them as that all their Canons are obliging among them.

13. I shall not need to add more evidences to infer so obvious a conclusion, that among the Romanists themselves, all General Councils have not had the same reception and veneration, when in their *Corpus Juris Decret. Par. 1. the 17th Distinction* is thus prefaced; *Generalia Concilia quorum tempore celebrata sint, vel quorum autoritas cæteris præmineat, sanctorum autoritatibus supra monstratum est*; “*In whose time the General Councils have been celebrated, or which of them hath a more eminent authority than the rest, hath been shewed by the authorities of holy men,*” referring to *Dist. 16.* wherein yet, as I said, there is no mention of any more than the first six, save only that the Pope professeth to maintain eight.





SECT. IX.

OUR REVERENCE TO ALL GENERAL COUNCILS.

THE FIFTH AND THE SIXTH.

1. THIS might make any second or farther answer unnecessary; yet I shall not doubt to proceed some steps farther, and 1. allow the same credit, though not the same degree of Reverence, (for the reasons premised,) to all Assemblies of Christians, which have served the Church in this office of conveying Apostolical Truths to us, and which are according to right reason, and by the grounds premised, qualified for a good Christian's reception, or as are not under some very just prejudice: Nay 2. though I make it no matter of Faith, because delivered neither by Scripture nor Apostolic Tradition, yet I shall number it among the *piè credibilia*,

that no General Council, truly such, 1. *Duly assembled*, 2. *Freely celebrated*, and 3. *Universally received*, either *hath erred*, or *ever shall err in matters of Faith*.

2. The expressing myself more fully in which particulars, will be a means to bring this whole matter to such an issue, as I shall hope no adversary will, with any colour of reason or truth, be able to gainsay.

3. And 1. for the Fifth General Council, it being for the Doctrinal part of it, but a corroboration of the Fourth, our Church makes no more doubt of that than of the fourth it doth. Only, after the example of Vincentius Lirinensis, that famous propugnator of the Catholic Faith against all Heresies, and by strength of the premised Ephesine Canon, we believe the four First Councils to be the conservatories of all truly Catholic, *i. e.* Apostolic Tradition, from whence together with the Scripture all Heresies may be oppugned and confuted, and so have no such need of, or benefit from this fifth, as from the former four Councils.

4. So 2. for the Sixth, as far as that concerns

the error of the Monothelites, which denied the two wills in Christ, so it is duly founded in Scripture, and the same Apostolic Tradition, which had asserted the two natures against Eutyches, and we willingly receive it, thinking it unnecessary to proceed to those other Acts, that go under the name of that Council, but were written afterward, and which the Romanists¹ acknowledge to be corrupt, and not to savour of Apostolic Tradition. "There are," saith the history of that Council, "carried about some Canons in the name of that sixth Synod in Trullo, but they were set out without the Legates of the Apostolic See, and not approved by them, wherein there be also some things which savour not of Apostolic tradition^m."

5. From which words I suppose I may conclude the reason of the Legates not confirming them to be this, because they "did not

¹ See Corp. Jur. Can. Decret. l. par. Dist. 16. c. 6. Not. Habeo librum, et ibid. c. 7. ed. Parisiis MDCXVIII.

^m Conc. tom. v. p. 8. Circumferuntur autem nonnulli Canones nomine sextæ Synodi in Trullo, veruntamen editi sine Legatis Apostolicæ sedis, nec ab eâ comprobati, in quibus et nonnulla sunt quæ minus Apostolicam sapiunt traditionem.

savour of Apostolical tradition." And then these two inferences are clear. First, that it is the Romanists' judgment unquestionably, (and that appears not only by this, but by many other instances, especially by that of Chalcedon, about the privileges of New Rome,) that the Decree of a General Council is not valid from itself, or any innate authority, (for if it were, it would not need the authority of the Pope himself to give it that validity,) but receives its force from subsequent approbation, or else is not a Catholic decree.

6. And then what reason can be rendered, why the want of the approbation of other Apostolical Churches should not have the same efficacy to prejudge the Universality of a Decree: for sure they are Christians and Bishops, as well as the Bishop of Rome, and consequently their Negatives as evident exceptions and prejudices to, and as utterly unreconcilable with an Universal affirmative, as the Pope's can be; and the supposing that the Pope hath power for the whole Church, and that infallible, for the approving or repudiating

Decrees, is still the removing all authority and Universality from the Council, and placing it in the Pope, making him, and not the Council the Grand Representative Church, and so is the destroying the whole doctrine of the authority of Councils.

7. Secondly, That the Reason or Rule of the Romanists' judgment may certainly be drawn into example, and prove imitable to other Christians, and then it must be lawful for the Church of God, as well as for the Bishop of Rome, to enquire whether the decrees of an Universal Council have been agreeable to Apostolical Tradition, or no, and if they be found otherwise, to reject them out, or not to receive them into their belief.

8. And then still it is the matter of the Decrees, and the Apostolicalness of them, and the force of the testification, whereby they are approved and acknowledged to be such, which gives the authority to the Council, and nothing else is sufficient, where that is not to be found.

9. Agreeable to which is St. Augustine's

practice. “Neither,” saith he, “do I produce the Nicene Council, nor should you that of Ariminum, neither am I obliged to the authority of this, nor you of that. By the authorities of Scripture, which are not proper to one but common to both, let the matter be debated, reason contending with reasonⁿ”—and then devolving all the authority of that most ancient truly General Nicene Council, as well as of that other of Ariminum, to the Apostolical grounds of truth, and those expressly in the written word of God, (I and My Father are One, as the ground of *ὁμοούσιον*,) from whence they framed their decrees.

10. To which belongs that saying of Athanasius^o himself of the manner of Subscriptions in the Council of Nice, who, though in the matter of Easter (being not a doctrine but a rite) they thought good to use this form, *Τότε γὰρ*

ⁿ Contr. Maxim. l. ii. 14. Tom. viii. p. 704. Nec ego Nicenum, nec tu debes Ariminense—proferre Concilium, nec ego hujus autoritate, nec tu illius detineris, scripturarum autoritatibus non quorumque propriis, sed utrisque communibus testibus, res cum re. causa cum causa. ratio cum ratione concertet.

^o Synod. Arimin. et Seleuc. tom. i. p. 873.

ἔδοξε πάντας πείθεσθαι, “*It seemed then good to us that all should obey or observe that time,*” which they had defined; yet concerning the matters of Faith, ἔγραψαν, οὐκ ἔδοξεν, ἀλλ’, οὕτως κελεύει ἡ Καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία, “*They wrote, not, It seemed good to us; but, Thus the Catholic Church commands;*” presently setting down the Confession itself, “that they might demonstrate that their sense was not new but Apostolical, and that what they wrote was not invented by themselves, but was the very same which the Apostles had taught P.”

Р “Ἰνα δείξωσιν ὅτι μὴ νεώτερον, ἀλλ’ Ἀποστολικὸν ἐστὶν αὐτῶν τὸ φρόνημα, καὶ ἃ ἔγραψαν, οὐκ ἐξ αὐτῶν εὐρέθη, ἀλλὰ ταῦτ’ ἐστὶν, ἅπερ ἐδίδασκαν οἱ Ἀπόστολοι.





SECT. X.

OF THE SEVENTH GENERAL COUNCIL.

1. As for the Seventh Council, that second of Nice, I have already more than intimated the reasons, why no Romanist can blame him that allows not the authority thereof.

2. Yet because those testimonies, though of Popes themselves, are indeed but Negative Testimonies, and being designed only *ad hominem*, to the Romanist, may still stand in need of some farther confirmation to others: that also is ready at hand, and may be deduced from two heads. 1. From the Council of Eliberis; 2. From the Council of Frankfort, which presently after the publishing of the Decrees of Nice for the worshipping of Images, opposed and refuted that doctrine.

3. For the first of these, the Council of Eliberis, that yields us an irrefragable proof, that the Doctrine of the second Nicene Council was not testified by all the Church of all ages to be of Tradition Apostolical.

4. The 36th Canon of that Council lies thus, *Placuit Picturas in Ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod coletur aut adoretur in parietibus depingatur; It is resolved that pictures should not be in the Church, lest that which is adored be painted on walls.* Which though it be but a Canon of a Provincial Council, and that in a matter of rite, and so hath no power of obliging all others beyond that Province, and might also be there after retracted again; yet being in the year of our Lord 305, twenty years before the first Nicene Council, and so 482 years before the second, is a convincing argument, that what was in the second Nicene defined, was not the language of Apostolical tradition, universally testified to be such; for then these fathers at Eliberis, and among them the great Hosius, which sat after in the first Council of Nice, and Liberius, whose name we

have in the Council of Arles, would never have made this Decree so directly contrary to such pretended tradition Apostolical.

5. In this matter it is worth observing how Cardinal Baronius hath behaved himself. In his first Volume^a, Ad An. Ch. 57. n. cxix. being troubled that 19 Bishops in a corner of the world, should decree otherwise than (as he is concerned to believe) the Universal Church of all places professed, he attempts to annul this Council, rendering his reason, *Pleraque enim in eo sunt quæ fines Novatiani erroris visa sunt prope attigisse*; “*There were very many Canons in it, which seemed almost to touch upon the borders of the Novatian heresy:*” and if they were but the borders of heresy, and these Canons did only touch upon those borders, or indeed but seem, and that again but almost seem, then these Canons might be very Catholic and Orthodox for all that.

6. The truth is, those Canons that deny only Communion to the Lapsi, but deny them not repentance and absolution, are far enough

from Novatian, and so presently after he acknowledges, *Cæterum quod sciamus ejus conventus Episcopos fuisse Catholicos, de Novatianâ hæresi nulla suspicio esse debet, cùm præsertim hi licèt communionem, tamen pœnitentiam non negarent, ut de eo Innocentius Papa tradit*; “*But seeing we know that the Bishops of that Councils were Catholic, they must not be suspected of Novatianism, especially seeing though they denied communion, they did not deny repentance, as Pope Innocent affirms of that Council.*”

7. Here then in the same paragraph he hath freed them from that suspicion which he was willing to have affixed on them; and it seems Pope Innocent was to be thanked for it who appeared on their side, or else Hosius, &c. must have gone for Novatians, and then never have been worth heeding in any other matter. This farther appears by the same Baronius in his second Volume, Ad An. 305. n. 41. Where having the same words again, of the *Propemodum visi sunt Novatianorum limites attigisse*; that they almost seemed to touch upon the

borders of the Novatians ; he renders that, as the cause that there is no mention of this Synod by name among the ancients, and so that it remained almost antiquated, and therefore (saith he,) he remembered he had spoken elsewhere (in the place forementioned) Paulo liberius, a little too freely of that Council ; but seeing their resolutions herein were excused by Pope Innocent, Nemo sit qui accusare præsumat ; No man may presume to accuse that Council. And then sure this Cardinal had been too bold in thus presuming.

8. What other arts he now betakes himself to, to deliver him from the force of that Canon against Images, I shall not now examine ; there being nothing of any force to supersede my conclusion, that this Canon is sufficient prejudice to the Universality of the testification, that the Nicene Canons for Images are of Apostolical Tradition.

9. As for the Council of Frankfort, that makes it as plain, that the Decrees of these Nicene Fathers were not received, but rejected by other parts of the Christian Church in

France, in Germany, and Italy, if not in Spain also.

10. This Binius would fain conceal; and accordingly in the title of that Council of Frankfort, was willing to anticipate the Reader's judgment, by telling him that these 300 Bishops there convened "confirmed the acts of the Council of Nice in the matter of images."

11. For this he afterwards gives his reasons such as they are, but acknowledges that both the great Cardinals, Bellarmine and Baronius, were of the contrary mind. To them therefore, and to the evidences whereby they were convinced, I may be allowed to appeal.

12. And indeed Baronius^s is so far from doubting it, that he solemnly professeth by undeniable testimonies to put it beyond all question, and so he doth, out of Walafridus

^r Acta Nicæni Concilii II. in causâ imaginum confirmant. Concil. tom. vi. p. 163. p. 185.

^s Tom. ix. p. 539. An. Chr. 794. n. 27. Tantum abest ut negemus Nicænam secundam Synodum eandemque septimam Œcumenicam dictam damnatam dici in Francofurdiensi Concilio, ut etiam augeamus numerum testium id profitentium, et quidem haud dubiæ fidei aut autoritatis.

Strabo, Amalarius, Hincmarus, Anastasius, and many others.

13. What he determineth concerning the invalidity of that Council of Frankfort, is not now pertinent to examine; my conclusion is sufficiently evinced without that enquiry, viz. That that Council of Nice was no Universal Testimony of Tradition Apostolical, or indeed of the whole Church of that age, when it was so far from being received and approved by all the world, that as soon as the News of the Acts thereof came to the ears of the Council, then assembled at Frankfort, (three hundred Bishops of Germany, France, and Italy, saith Surius; others add, out of Spain also 124.) the Council solemnly oppugned and refuted them.

14. Of this the Reader may have the clearest prospect in several places of the works of G. Cassander, both in his ^tConsultation, and especially in his ^u19th Epistle, where he gives Ioh. Molinaeus a full account of the four books written by the authority, and under the name of Charles the French King, and approved by

^t Page 977.

^u Page 1103.

that whole Council of Frankfort, and so sent to the Pope against the Decrees of the Council of Nice in the matter of image-worship, pronouncing both of those books, and that Synod, and other eminent persons of that age, of the same sense with them, "that they never were condemned, nor, as he thinks, will ever be by those men that are in their wits^x."

15. Some question I know there is made by others; whether this Council of Frankfort rightly understood the decrees of that Council of Nice, and whether those four books compiled, as it is probable, by Alcuinus, and approved by that Council, did not confound the two Seventh Councils, the true, that at Nice, and the false, that of the Iconoclastæ at Constantinople.

16. But neither are we concerned in either of those questions. For still it remains certain and unquestioned, that the Council of Nice

* Qui libros hosce damnandos aut reprobandos putet, idem necessario et ipsam Synodum Francofordiensem, et alios insignes eâ ætate scriptores damnandos esse fateatur, quod neque factum est unquam, neque futurum certè à sanis hominibus puto. Ibid. p. 1104.

(whether by their mistake or otherwise) was not by all men universally received. The 300 Bishops at Frankfort received it not, but professedly opposed it.

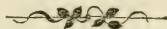
17. And if the Canons of Frankfort were not approved by the Pope (as it is again suggested) yet still this is a sufficient prejudice to the Universality of those Nicene Canons, without the Pope's being one of those that condemned them, which cannot be universal testifiers, whilst they want universal consent, and are oppugned and disclaimed by Charles the King, and the 300 Bishops which were there convened at Frankfort, and by as many as adhered to the sentence of those but 330 which were assembled at Nice.

18. And indeed we that in this matter approve of the doctrine of the Frankfort Decrees, as that is summed up in those few words, which the books^y in Charles's name deduce from Pope Gregory, in his Epistle to

^y Vide Cass. p. 977. Epistolam Gregorii ad Serenum adducit Carolus, l. ii. c. 23. Cujus hoc est argumentum. Imagines à B. Gregorio Romanæ Urbis Antistite et adorari prohibentur et

Serenus Bishop of Marseilles, viz. "That images are neither to be broken nor worshipped;" that they be lawfully used in the Church, but must not by any means be adored, can never be blamed for rejecting the doctrine of any General Council. For if that of Nice, which is deemed such, define not for adoration of images, then it is not rejected by us; and if it do define for it, then was it rejected by Frankfort, and if so, then was it no General Council. The dilemma is concludent herein without any farther enquiries, either it is not rejected by us at all, as teaching no more than we profess to acknowledge, or else it may be lawfully rejected by us, because we have this evidence on our sides from the oppositions of the 300 Fathers at Frankfort, and of many more, as hath been said, that it was not Universal.

frangi. Vide Greg. Ep. ex Reg. ep. 9. Quia eas adorari vetuisses. laudamus, fregisse verò reprehendimus. And, Frangi non debuit. quod non ad adorandum.





SECT. X.

OF THE EIGHTH GENERAL COUNCIL.

1. As to the Eighth and last of that number, to which the Pope's profession extends, I desire the reader will pass his judgment of it by that which he will find in the sixth Session of the Council of Florence in the year of Christ, 1439^z.

2. There in the passages between Marcus Ephesius, and Julian the Cardinal about the Ancient Councils, the Cardinal desired a sight of the acts of the eighth Council, and complains that the book was denied him. Marcus answers that it was not easy for him to give him the book, but if it were there “^a was no

* Concil. tom. viii. p. 598.

^a Οὐκ ἔχομεν ἀνάγκην ἵνα συναριθμήσωμεν ταῖς οἰκουμενικαῖς συνόδοις ἄλλην σύνοδον ἣτις οὐδε ἐστέρχθη

necessity that they should number among the Œcumenical Councils one that was not approved, but rather reprobated, or annulled ;” for this Synod, said he, had acts against Photius, in the time of Pope John and Pope Adrian, and after it there was another Synod^b which restored Photius, and annulled that former Synod ; that this Synod called also the eighth, was under Pope John, who wrote Epistles for Photius, and those still extant, that they (the Romans) were not ignorant, (he believed,) either of that Synod or of those Epistles : and seeing “the acts of that Synod were abrogated^c,” it was not reasonable that they should seek for it, but rather for that which was after it, which from that time to this very day (of the Florentine meeting) was read in the great Church of Constantinople, in these words, “Let all that hath been written or

(it should be, I suppose, ἐσπερίχθη) ὅλως ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἡκυρώθη. Ibid.

^b Ἀνῶρθωσε τὸν φώτιον, καὶ ἡκύρωσε τὴν πρώτην σύνοδον. Ibid.

^c Ἠκυρώθησαν τὰ τῆς συνόδου ἐκείνης.

spoken against the holy Patriarchs, Photius or Ignatius, be anathema." Wherefore, saith he, it is not fit that those Acts which were abrogated, should be produced^d.

3. To this full declaration and recognition of Marcus, appealing to the Romanist's own knowledge for the truth of it, the Cardinal's answer is very short, in these words; "I will," saith he, "free you from this fear that any thing shall be read from the eighth Council: we desire that the book which we demanded may be brought, that we may consult some passages out of the sixth and seventh Council, and of the eighth^e we say nothing."

4. Here it is evident, 1. That the eighth Synod was soon retracted again: and so not universally received, or approved: 2. That the Greek Church from that time to the Council of Florence, *i. e.* for the space of almost 600 years, received it not, but the contrary, viz. that which abrogated it. 3. That

^d Ὅτι ἅπαντες ἀνετράπησαν οὐδὲ πρόπειν ἵνα ἔλθωσιν εἰς τὸ μέσον.

^e Περὶ τῆς ὁγδόης οὐδὲν λέγομεν.

this being vouched in a Council to the Romans, could not in any part be denied by them, and therefore the matter was wholly waived if not confessed. And then sure I need say no more concerning the no-authority or obligingness of that Council.

5. But then to this I shall add, that this Council being convened on purpose for the censuring and depriving of Photius Patriarch of Constantinople, not for any heretical departure from the Faith, so much as pretended against him, but for some other (as they are called) excesses, of which his enemies deemed him guilty, especially because from a Senator, and so a layman, he was immediately advanced to that Patriarchate (though very much against his will, as his Epistles sufficiently testify) the Faith of Christ is little concerned in the decrees of this Council, here being no testimony of the Church to be found either for or against any doctrine pretended to be derived from the Apostles.

6. The arguments which Anastasius Biblio-

^f Vide Anastasii Histor. VIII. Synodi, Concil. tom. vi. p. 706.

thecarius offers for the proving the Universality of this Council, where, as he saith, he was present, will hardly prevail with any.

7. First, saith he, it is Universal, because the Catholic Faith and Holy Laws, which ought to be revered not only by all Priests, but by all Christians, were in it uniformly defended against the enemies thereof: which if it had any force in it, then sure every Orthodox assembly, were it never so particular, a Provincial Synod of the Bishops of any one Province, or a Diocesan of the one Bishop and Presbyters of that diocese, as long as they be in the right, or are by the Romanist supposed to be so, as (indeed that eighth Council^s professeth to retain and observe the laws delivered in the Catholic and Apostolic Church, not only from the Apostles and all orthodox

ε Τους ἐν τῇ Καθολικῇ καὶ Ἀποστολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
 παραδοθέντας θεσμοὺς παρὰ τῇ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ πανευφήμων
 Ἀποστόλων, παρά τε ὀρθοδόξων συνόδων οἰκουμενικῶν τε
 καὶ τοπικῶν, ἣ καὶ πρὸς τινος θεηγόρου πατρὸς, διδασ-
 κάλου τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τηρεῖν καὶ φυλάττειν ὁμολογοῦμεν.
 Act. 10. Can. 1. Concil. tom. vii. p. 977.

Councils both Œcumenical and Provincial, or Topical, but even from any divinely-speaking Father, Doctor of the Church) must pass for a General and Œcumenical assembly, just by the same logic, that the particular Church of Rome doth pass with them for the whole Catholic Church of Christ.

8. Secondly, saith he, it is an Universal Council, because seeing Christ hath in the Church placed as many Patriarchal Sees as there are senses in man's body, if all those consent, there wants no more to the Generality of the Church than there wants to the motion of the body, when all the five senses are entire in it.

9. To which I answer, 1. That if this were true, then the second Council of Ephesus was a valid General Council; for there were personally^h the Patriarchs of four Sees, and Julian as proxy of the fifth. 2. It must then follow that a Synod of five men, (for such sure are the five Patriarchs,) to which no sixth person in the world was ever so much as invited or

^h Concil. tom. iii. p. 61.

summoned, may go for an assembly of the whole world. 3. That when one of the five Patriarchs was here deposed, and never consented to his own deposition, it will be very hard to find the consent of these five Patriarchs to all the acts of this Council, and consequently to defend the perfection of it from the forementioned analogy with that of the body of man, unless when one of the five senses is shut out by the other four, the remaining four be either sufficient to represent the fifth also, which is cast out (and never consents to this law of representation) or to substitute another sense in the place of that fifth. 4. That this same author in his very next period tells us, that soon after the exaltation of this Photius, Solomon, also a layman, was made Patriarch of Jerusalem, and then it is no way probable, that this Solomon, or whatsoever other Bishop of that See, which was another of these five senses, should ever consent to those Canons, which are so contrary to that practice, and must infer the deposing of that Solomon, as well as it did of Photius.

10. The truth is, in the subscriptions of the seventh Act, there is no name of any of the five Patriarchs, save only of Pope Adrian, and the Archbishop of Perga in the name and stead of Ignatius the deposed, but now by this Council restored, Patriarch of Constantinople. And though in the tenth Action we now have the names of proxies to all the rest of the Patriarchs; yet sure somewhat there was in it, that after the naming of them and the Emperor's Proxy, Biniusⁱ thinks necessary to insert an annotation, lest, as he saith, the reader observing the paucity of subscribers should be scandalized at it, and therefore by way of prevention he offers an account of it from the multitude of Photius's favourers, who, he confesseth, were all excluded from this Council, and so the ^ksubscribers fit to be compared to Christ's little flock, which sure is a competent prejudice to the universality of it.

11. And so likewise Anastasius's sage obser-

ⁱ Concil. tom. vi. p. 853.

^k Hæc paucitas gregi illi pro suâ justitiâ comparatur cui Dominus dicit, nolite timere pusillus grex. Ibid.

vation by which he backs his argument in that place ; viz. That of the five senses the Bishop of Rome is proportionable to *Visus*, the Sight, which hath¹, saith he, “ the preeminence of all the other senses, being acuter than they, and having communion with all as none of the rest have,” is a shrewd intimation of his sense, that it was the single authority of the Pope, that both condemned Photius, and gave the whole universality to this Council, and then we have a very fair account of a General Council, rendered such by the bare virtue of one person therein, and then I doubt not good store of Universal Councils may be found in the world, even as many as there have ever been assemblies or conclaves, wherein *Visus*, the most eminent sense, *i. e.* the Pope, hath had any efficacious influence by himself or his proxy.

12. To which purpose it may deserve here to be remembered what type or copy of celebrating a Council the learned Cardinal Baronius conceives himself to have found in the New

¹ Profecto cunctis sensibus præeminet, acutior illis existens, et communionem, sicut nullus eorum, cum omnibus habens.

Testament^m, and requires the reader of his Annals, “to stop and take notice of it, as of a thing most worthy of his observation.” Such as wherein St. Peterⁿ, and from his example the Bishop of Rome his successor, in a cause of the greatest moment, so “delivers his opinion, that he defines the matter in debate, and teaches and decrees what all must think, and constitutes a Canon or rule of faith which must remain for ever, so that, as he saith, there is almost no need to consult the rest of the Apostles, or ask their sentiments or opinions, it being sufficient for Christ, that Peter spake, and determined what was to be resolved in point of faith.”

13. Here indeed is a fair foundation laid of a most magnificent structure, St. Peter's pri-

■ An. 33. n. 17. Hic pedem sistat atque Paulum attendat diligens lector rem animadversione dignissimam.

■ Petrus talem fert sententiam, ut causam ipse definiat, et quid ab omnibus sentiendum esset, erudiat atque decernat, ac fidei canonem perpetuo permansurum constituat, ut nihil fermè jam esset opus consulere cæteros tunc Apostolos, ac rogare quænam essent aliorum de eâ re sententiæ ac opiniones. Idcirco enim satis fuit Christo, Petrum fuisse locutum, ac quid de fide sentiendum esset, clavum finisse.

vilege in a Council of all the Apostles, *Ut sententiam ipse definiat*: that he, without consulting of any other, should give the definitive sentence.

14. Only it was a little unhappy, that Christ Himself should be present there, and one of the interlocutors in this Council (if such it were) for it is He that proposeth the question which Peter answers, and if in the one it were a type of celebrating a Council, so it was in the other also, and then here were two Conciliar offices, the one of proposing doubts in Councils, the other of answering them; the first belonging to Christ, the second to St. Peter, and certainly the latter a place of the more eminence.

15. It is strange, what submissions learned men are forced to, that are resolved to serve their hypothesis. I shall only demand why the very next parcel of discourse betwixt Christ and His disciples, wherein again St. Peter was the only speaker, ver. 21—23. of this chapter^o, was not as signal a type of cele-

^o Matt. xvi.

brating a Council, as the former? And yet there, in two very eminent branches of the Christian faith, the Passion and Resurrection of Christ, the same St. Peter, whose successor the Pope pretends to be, differed in opinion from Christ Himself, "took Him and began to rebuke Him," and sure delivered a very un catholic sentence, no other than the denial of both of those grand Articles, not only in words of aversion, which are not enunciative, the "Far be it from Thee, Lord," but even in plain form of definition or decree, οὐ μὴ ἔσται σοι τοῦτο, "This shall not be unto Thee."

16. What Christ there returns unto him, that he was "an offence unto him, and savoured not the things of God, but those that were of men," may well serve for conclusion of this matter, that in an assembly where Christ Himself was present, St. Peter, and so his pretended successor, may, if he be not very careful to adhere to the word of Christ, fall into error also, but is not in any reason then to be deemed the representative of the whole Church.

17. This institution of Councils in the Church of Christ, the great Cardinal had so fancied, that afterward he refers the original of them not to the Apostles' Synod at Jerusalem^p, but, by all means, to this of Christ, asking His disciples, "Whom say men that I am?" Only the unhappiness of it was, he had there forgotten the principal thing, which had recommended this pattern unto him, St. Peter's peculiar privilege, *Ut sententiam ipse definiat*, for there he is pleased to resolve on another form, viz. "^qThat every Father's suffrage should be asked, and the decree made in an holy and Canonical manner, by the common votes of all," and not only of St. Peter; which I should hope, concludes it his opinion, that the former course of *definiat ipse* was neither legal nor holy.

^p An. 58. n. 119. Si quis ejus rei ipsum exordium repetat, inveniet non tam ab Apostolis quam ab ipso Christo duxisse principium, atque sumpsisse auctoritatem, quando scilicet, &c.

^q In unum Patres coirent, sicque simul collectis, singulorum sententia rogaretur, ac denique quod ob omnibus servandum esset, sanctè ac legitimè communibus suffragiis firmaretur. Ibid.

18. His third argument for the universality of this Council is, because “^rseeing Photius had by his so many excesses blotted the Universal Church, an universal cure was used, that all might be cured where all was blemished.” But sure there is little force in this argument, which renders a reason, why it was so; but doth not offer at any evidence, that so it was; and is founded in a supposition that the cure (as the disease) was universal, which was the thing he should have proved. And even for the universality of the disease we have here no farther offer of proof, but only that soon after Photius’s ascending from the Senate to the Patriarchate, one Solomon a Laic was made Bishop of Jerusalem. And some Laics at Constantinople lived virtuous lives; only, as he will have it supposed, “that thereby they might aspire to the Patriarchate”: both which might be allowed to be true, and yet this

^r Cum Photius tot excessuum suorum morbo universalem ecclesiam maculaverit, universalis curatio adhibita est, ut totum curaretur quod totum fuerat maculatum. Concil. tom. vi. p. 706.

Eighth Council of 102 Bishops be far from being thereby concluded to have been a General Council.

19. The short is, Anastasius Bibliothecarius, who was, as he saith, present at this Council, and so may be allowed to have kindness to it, doth also dedicate his History of it to Pope Adrian, who was the principal actor in it, and a bitter enemy to Photius. And then his authority in this matter will be of as little weight, as his arguments have appeared to be, even no more than a testimony given to an interested person by a very partial friend and party.

20. If there were force in such witnesses, there would be as much credit due to Photius himself, Epist. 117. desiring Theodosius^s not to wonder that “profane persons sit superciliously in judicature, and the illustrious High Priests of God are convented before them, that they judge who are themselves condemned,” (for so was Ignatius the deposed but now re-

^s Τὸ θαυμάζεις, εἰ προκάθητο μὲν ἐξωφρυώμενον τὸ ἀνιέρον, παρίστατο δὲ τῶν Ἀρχιερέων θεοῦ τὸ ἐπίσημον, καὶ κρινεῖν μὲν ἐλέγετο τὸ κατὰκριτον;

stored Patriarch,) but that the 'innocent "were judged being encompassed with swords, lest they should dare offer to speak any thing in their own defence," giving him ancient examples of the like judicatures, that of Annas and Caiaphas, and Pilate and the Sanhedrim, by whom Christ was condemned; and so also Stephen, and James the Bishop of Jerusalem, and Paul. And so in many other passages of his Epistles, which demonstrate him to have been another manner of man, than Baronius pretends him^u.

21. But I need not such fallible testimonies as these to confirm the point in hand, that one of Marcus in the Council of Florence, contested to Cardinal Julian, and not denied by him, is sufficient.

22. And it was but necessary wisdom in Binius, (that knew it well, and could not but discern what a just prejudice it was to the universal reception of this Council,) that he

^t Κατεδικάζετο ξίφεσι περιεστοιχισμένον, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μήδε φωνὴν ἀφεῖναι τὸ ἀρεῦθνον.

^u An. 871. n. 24.

purposely omitted to give us any story of that Council, as of others he accustomed to do, discreetly designing Anastasius's Preface to Pope Adrian, to supply, as he saith^a, the place of it. For as Anastasius would not probably reveal this secret, nor could foresee what Marcus would say in the Council of Florence; so Binius, that published one as well as the other, could neither be ignorant, nor yet with any safety take notice of it, there being no possible way left but this of silence, to salve this objection, or support the reputation or universality of that Council, which was so nearly concerned in it.

^a Non proponitur; ut in aliis factum, historia VIII. Concil. quod eam Anastasii Præfatio complectatur. Concil. tom. vi. p. 602.





SECT. XII.

OF THE REST OF THE COUNCILS WHICH THE
ROMANISTS CALL GENERAL; PARTICULARLY THAT
OF TRENT.

1. I shall not now, as I said, need to descend to a view of the other Councils, by the Romanists styled Œcumenical, or defend our practice in not accepting them as such. And that for these few, among many, reasons ;

2. First, Because, as we said, the Pope's profession, which must in reason be supposed to extend to the whole faith, to every part of Apostolical tradition, duly testified ; yet doth not extend to all these, or to any more than eight of them.

3. Secondly, Because those parts of them, which agree not with their pretensions, are freely and universally disallowed by them, as

is notorious by the instances of the Council of Constance, and of Basil, (and even of the Fourth great Council, that of Chalcedon,) each styled in their collections **Œ**cumenical Councils, and yet each *ex parte reprobatum*, *in part rejected and reprobated*; and then why may not the Greek Church by the same law reject the Council of Florence, and both the Gallican Church and ours the Council of Trent, if we find it not a faithful reporter of tradition Apostolical?

4. Thirdly, Because whenever any Council hath by them been thought to fail, they have made no scruple to affirm it was not a lawful Council.

5. Thus we know it was in that at Ariminum, where, as S. Hierome^x saith, the “whole world almost admired to see itself become Arian,” and yet this I hope hath no authority with them.

6. So, likewise the second Council of Ephesus, though it were General, though honoured with the presence of all the five

^x Dial. cont. Lucif.

Patriarchs^y, four in person, the fifth by his Proxy^z, and pertinaciously maintained by the Emperor Theodosius; yet because it confirmed Eutyches's doctrine, it is justly rejected by them.

7. And then why may not the same reason hold for us, and authorize our questioning the legitimacy of those Councils, whose decrees with reason we allow not? nor discern any testimony of the truth of their doctrine, or delivery from the Apostles?

8. Fourthly, Because in the Council of Trent the Popes themselves, as many as lived in the time thereof, would never consent, though it were earnestly desired of them, that that Council should be affirmed to represent the Universal Church; foreseeing prudently, that if that were granted (as in the Council of Constance it was to the Pope's cost) the Council being the whole, would put off its subjection,

^y Vde Act. I. Concil. I. Chalced. Concil. Tom. iii. p. 61.

^z "Οδὲ Θεοδοσίος ἀντέγραψεν αὐτῷ (Imperatori Valentiniano) λέγων, ὅτι οὐ ποιῶ ἀλλήν σύνοδον, καλῶς γὰρ ἔκρινεν ὁ Διόσκορος. Leontius de Sect. πρᾶξ: δ. p. 511. A.

and depend no longer on him that was but a part of it. From whence I conceive this dilemma must have irresistible force in it, *ad hominem*, being produced to a Romanist.

9. Either the General Council before the Papal confirmation is the representative of the whole Church, or it is not: if it be the representative of the whole, then it needs not the confirmation of the Pope to render it what it was before. And again, whensoever the Pope hath refused to confirm the decrees of any such, I must in charity to him suppose that those decrees have been erroneous, and as such repudiated by him, and then the universal Church representative may err. And then who can have any security in believing or relying on it?

10. But if it be not the representative of the whole Church, then is not the testimony of an Œcumenical Council the testimony of the whole Church, nor consequently qualified for any belief upon that score of universality.

11. Having given the Romanist this account, which he hath obliged himself not to

dislike, of our not obliging ourselves to the belief of all those Councils which he calls General, I shall not need add what hath been so fully done by others, the many eminent nullities of some of them, especially of that of Trent, which is most magisterially imposed upon us.

12. The matter is clear, there can be no colour of pretence that that was an Œcumenical Council. It had not sure at the time, that integrity of the five senses, which Anastasius told us of, nor yet after it was promulgate, the approbation and reception of the whole Christian world, not of the eastern Church, nor in the west of the Gallican and Britannic, and many others. And then how can it be any universal testifier of Apostolic tradition, or in any other capacity bind all to the embracing of it?

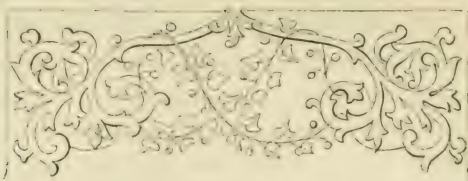
13. This therefore is the one (but that very sufficient) prejudice to a Council pretending to deliver to us Apostolic traditions and matters of faith, and exacting them to be received as such, that it is not indeed what it pretends to

be, an Universal Council; and consequently that it is not duly qualified, by Vincentius's rules, to give a valid testimony of matters of faith or doctrines truly Christian. To which it is but proportionable and regular that we that embrace and uniformly accept all Apostolical tradition, sufficiently *i. e.* universally testified to be such, do not think ourselves obliged to receive that, which is not thus testified.

14. If therefore, as hath hitherto appeared, heresy be to be thus defined by the opposition to the faith of Christ, sufficiently revealed and testified to us, if Universality be one qualification of the testifier, and if the Romanists' Œcumenical Councils do evidently fail of that Universality, then cannot our non-reception of all their Councils, thus evidenced not to be universal, or of those their doctrines which have no other surer basis than that of the definitions of those Councils, be any way competent to charge or affix the note of heresy upon us.

15. Nay on the contrary, we that never disbelieved any word of God, written or

unwritten (by any means made known to us to be such), particularly never questioned any voice or testimony of the whole Church concerning such word, but are ready to believe that to be Apostolical, which shall be to us universally testified to come from the Apostles, and persuade ourselves that God will never permit any such universal testimony concerning the faith to conspire in conveying error to us; and upon the strength of that persuasion, as we have never yet opposed any Universal Council, nor other voice of the whole Church, such as by the Catholic rules can be contested to be such; so for the future we profess never to do: are by our grounds thus far secured from all heretical pravity, that unless we destroy in the retail what we have built in the gross, and until we shall be proved, by the particular view of our doctrines, to have thus failed in some particulars, we cannot with any justice, or without great uncharitableness be accused of it.



SECT. XIII.

OF THE INERRABILITY OF A GENERAL COUNCIL.

THAT IT IS NO MATTER OF FAITH.

1. OF the last part of this our profession, it is now meet, that I add some few words, viz. what our opinion is of the inerrability of a General Council, truly so called, and qualified as hath been formerly described.

2. And 1. we have learned to distinguish between theological verity and Catholic faith; some things we believe to be true, which yet pretend not to be any part of that necessary fundamental doctrine, which "was once delivered unto the Saints," but are offered to our belief upon grounds of reason, which, *suppositá fide*, carry great weight of probability with them, for which yet we neither have, nor pretend any divine revelation. And such, I conceive,

this proposition to be, *A General Council cannot, or shall not err.* For that this is no where either affirmed by the word of God, written or unwritten, or regularly deduced from thence, may easily appear by a view of the very few places, which are by the Romanist pretended to conclude it.

3. First, Those words of Christ are pretended for it, ^a“Where two or three are gathered together in My Name, there I will be in the midst of them.” But 1. Those words do not in any peculiarity belong to Councils convened to define, but more generally to any assemblies that come together to hear or pray to God, or more particularly in that place, to excommunicate an offender. 2. If they belong to Councils, they would equally belong to the most particular, as to the most Œcumenical Council; for none can be more distant from Catholic, than that where no more than “two or three are met together.” 3. That text belongs only to those assemblies, which are truly convened in God’s Name, with hearts

* Mat. xviii. 20.

sincerely bent to the honouring of Him; whereas many assemblies among men have been, and still may be convened with mixtures of worldly and carnal interest, and then no part of the promised presence belongs to them. 4. Christ may by His power and illumination, and even directive grace be present, and in "the midst" of those, who yet through the corruption and blindness and obstinacy of their own hearts, do not make use of His guidance to the finding out of truth, but oft resist the conviction and light which is offered them by Christ. And so there is not the least colour of force in that argument.

4. Secondly, that place is produced of John xvi. 3. That "when the Spirit of truth is come, he will guide them into all truth," and again, that he "shall abide with them for ever." But neither hath that any propriety to General, or indeed to any kind of Councils. Every particular Christian, since the descent of the Holy Ghost, is as much rendered infallible by these texts, as any the most numerous assembly; for to each of those this promise

made to the Apostles is as regularly applicable, as to any of these. And the matter is notorious, that before there was ever any Œcumenical Council in the world, the Church of God was led into all truth: the greatest foundations of Faith being by the Apostles' preaching, from the very first plantation, long before the Council of Nice, deposited in every Church.

5. Thirdly, They produce the form of the Conciliar Decretal Epistle^b, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us." But that can be of no force in this matter: 1. Because the Apostles, that certainly did not err, and were so assisted by the Spirit that they should not err in the discharge of their office Apostolical, can be no precedent to every, or any other human assembly. 2. Because this decree of theirs belonging to matters of practice, not of belief, that form of it can no farther be imitable to other Councils, than that in like matters of practice, such are rites and ceremonies and usages in a Church, they assume authority of defining, and commanding, and

^b Acts xv. 28.

deem that backed by the Holy Ghost, who hath given them their authority, but in matters of Faith they must have nothing from themselves. And accordingly this hath been the practice in the Church, as hath formerly appeared from Athanasius, to prefix their Canons of Order and Rites: this form, *Visum est, It seemed good to us*, or ἔδοξε τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα, *these things seemed good to us*: but for matters of faith, οὕτως πιστεύει ἡ Καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία, *so the Catholic Church believes*; neither inserting mention of their own judgment, nor yet pretending to any other revelation from the Holy Ghost, than what was from the beginning found to have been in the Church. To which purpose also was, I suppose, the second versicle in the doxology (the orthodoxal form of acknowledging the Trinity) *Sicut erat in principio, As it was in the beginning*, as it stood by original tradition Apostolical, is “now and ever shall be world without end.” No new doctrine ever to be brought into the Church by whatsoever Council, but only that which the Apostles had delivered.

6. Fourthly, Some places they bring, and apply to Councils, which the Scripture delivers only of the Church in general, as, that the “gates of hell shall not prevail against it,” which can no way belong to this matter, unless all the members of the Church were met together in that Council; for if there be any left out, why may not the promise be good in them, though the gates of hell should be affirmed to prevail against the Council? The first Nicene was by the acknowledgment of all an Œcumenical Council, yet was not the whole Church of God convened in that Assembly. In case all the 318 Bishops which were there assembled, had in one minute been taken up to Heaven, or by any violence of the Arian party massacred; could it with any truth be said, that the whole Church of God had then been destroyed? Infallibly it could not; and no more could it be said, in case a major part of them had agreed in any error, that the *πύλαι ᾗδου*, *the power or gates of hell*, or death, or destruction, had prevailed against them; because as it is clear there were many thou-

sands of Bishops and Presbyters, many millions of brethren or believing Christians, without the walls of that Council, which had not been involved in that error. And indeed the very supposal, that the Council assembled represents the Church diffusive, and was never entrusted by them to define any error at their convention, is an evidence that there is without the doors of that Council an universal, which those few there present were designed to represent. And those that have given their proxies for certain uses, are not imagined so to have put their lives or souls in the hands of those proxies, as that by the death of the proxies they shall be supposed to die also.

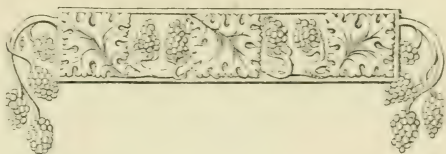
7. And as there is no evidence from the written word of God whereon this may be grounded, as a matter of faith, that a General Council cannot err, so neither is there any part of the Apostles' depositum entrusted to the Church, from which the conclusion can with any semblance of reason be inferred, or that is by any Romanist, that I know of, made use of to that purpose.

8. The main thing that is pretended, is the conciliar practice and custom of annexing anathemas to their definitions, which it were not reasonable for them to do, if they did not verily believe their definitions were infallibly true. But to this the answer is obvious, 1. That they may think themselves infallible which are not, and so their own belief is not argumentative. 2. That they that knowing themselves fallible, do yet persuade themselves that they have successfully sought out, and found the truth in some particular, may think it useful to propagate this truth to all their flock, and secure the peaceable possession of that doctrine by denunciation of censures Ecclesiastical; and, that is the meaning of anathemas. 3. It is supposable, that in this, or that doctrine, the Council hath had so clear a discovery, (viz. from the uniform consentient testimony of all Churches with which they have consulted,) that they do find reason verily to believe that that particular definition is tradition Apostolical. And so in that they may define dogmatically, not from any opinion

of their own universal inerrableness, but from a duly-grounded persuasion, that for this time they are in the right. Lastly, It may well be noted as an excess in many later Councils, to be thus forward with their anathemas, or to affix them to any other of their definitions, but such as are undoubted branches of that Apostolical doctrine, which was preached to all those *δύγματα εὐσεβείας* in the Apostles' Canon², the disbelief whereof may obstruct, or hinder good life here, and salvation hereafter.

* xxx. (Pat. ap. ed. Cotel. tom. i. 447.)





SECT. XV.

THAT IT IS ONE OF THE PIE CREDIBILIA, THAT A
GENERAL COUNCIL SHALL NOT ERR.

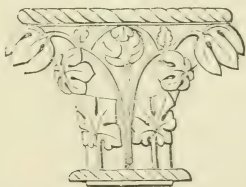
1. This then of the inerrableness of General Councils being thus far evidenced to be no matter of faith, because not founded in any part of Scripture, or Tradition, (nor consequently the contrary any matter of Heresy,) the utmost that can be said of it, is, that it is a theological verity which may piously be believed.

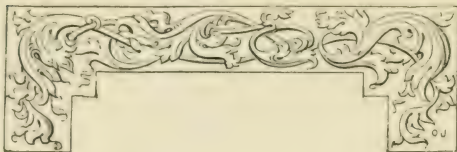
2. And so I doubt not to pronounce of it, that if we consider God's great and wise and constant providence and care over His Church, His desire that all men should be saved, and, in order to that end, come to the knowledge of all necessary truth, His promise that He will not suffer His faithful servants to be tempted

above what they are able, nor permit scandals and false teachers to prevail to the seducing of the very elect, His most pious godly servants ; if, I say, we consider these, and some other such like general promises of Scripture, wherein this question seems to be concerned, we shall have reason to believe, that God will never suffer all Christians to fall into such a temptation as it must be, in case the whole Church representative should err in matter of faith, by way of ellipsis, (define against, or leave out of their Creed any Article of that body of Credenda, which the Apostles delivered to the Church,) and therein find approbation, and reception among all those Bishops and Doctors of the Church diffused which were out of the Council.

3. And though in this case the Church might remain a Church, (and so the destructive gates of Hades not prevail against it,) and still retain all parts of the Apostles' depositum in the hearts of some faithful Christians which had no power in the Council to oppose the Decree, or out of it to resist the general

approbation, yet still the testimony of such a General Council so received and approved, would be a very strong argument, and so a very dangerous temptation to every the most meek and pious Christian, and it is piously to be believed, though not infallibly certain, (for who knows what the provocations of the Christian world, of the Pastors, or the flock, may arrive to, like the violence of the old world, that brought down the deluge upon them?) that God will not permit His servants to fall into that temptation.





SECT. XIV.

A RECAPITULATION AND CONCLUSION OF THIS MATTER CONCERNING HERESY.

1. It is time now to draw to a conclusion of this whole matter; and from the premises to complete and abbreviate that plea, which will, I doubt not, secure the Church of England from all colourable charge of Heresy: for that

2. First, It confessedly receives the *whole Word of Christ*, the entire *Canon of the New Testament*.

3. Secondly, It retains entire the *symbol of the Apostolic faith*, as that was delivered to the Churches in all the Apostolic plantations.

4. Thirdly, It understands both *Scripture*, and *Creed*, according to that traditive interpretation, which the first *four*, or, if you will, *six*, or indeed any of the *Œcumenical Councils*, truly so called, have discovered and declared to be the sense of all the Apostolic Churches in the world, and were universally received by all Churches in such their declaration.

5. Fourthly, *That we never rejected any Catholic Testimony* (offered in behalf of any Doctrine) nor Council, but such as even our enemies grant, or evidence of the matter proclaims, not to have been *Œcumenical*.

6. Fifthly, *That we do not believe that any General Council*, truly such, ever did, or shall err in any matter of faith, nor shall we farther dispute the authority, when we shall be duly satisfied of the universality of any such.

7. Lastly, *That we are willing to proceed*, and enlarge all this, from the Church collected in a Council, to the Church diffused, or the principal Pastors thereof, out of Council, and are ready to receive, and acknowledge as doctrine of faith every propositton, which the

Fathers that lived in any competent distance from the Apostles, do uniformly, or without any considerable dissent, deliver down to us, as the truths of God, traditions Apostolical.

8. Herein I may not now fitly enlarge, by proceeding to a view and defence of all, or any such particular doctrines, nor indeed can I without the spirit of divination, not knowing what one doctrine, denied by us, any Romanist will assume to assert upon these terms (contest by these measures of *universality, antiquity, and consent*) to be *Apostolical tradition*.

9. As for the authority of the *present* Roman Church, which is by them so much insisted on, as we cannot deem that sufficient to impose upon all Christians any new book of Scripture; so neither can we by force of any Catholic rules (such as Vincentius is confessed to have furnished us with sufficiently) receive from that sole testimony of theirs (which is but the testimony of *one* part, and of *one* age of the Church, and not of the *universal*

Church of all ages) any part of Christian doctrine, though by them never so earnestly contested to be Apostolical.

10. The sure way of judging aright in any particular debate, must be by appealing to the Fountains, Apostolical Original Doctrine, and Tradition : and for that, to those that are competent testifiers in the matter, to Councils universally received, or to such other testimony as is truly universal. And as by this one test we profess to deal with every adversary of the faith, whom we shall dare thus to accuse, and not to deem any person an heretic, whom we cannot demonstrate to be such, by this sure κριτήριον, (and therefore are not forward to judge every Romanist to be such, who maintains the whole faith, and errs only in his super-addition,) so we are most willing to submit to this way of judgment ourselves, and whatsoever we shall be convinced to be disagreeable thereto, we shall most willingly and explicitly renounce, for the glory of God, and for the restoring the peace of the Church, and do so already implicitly, by binding our-

selves to be judged, and concluded by these rules, by unfeigned prayer to God for His light and guidance in His path; and by exacting of all Christians in the world that fraternal debt of necessary charity to our souls, in admonishing us, either 1. What particular there is, maintained by our Church, which is not found to have truth: or 2. What disbelieved, which is able to approve itself, being judged by these rules: or 3. What is defective in these rules, in order to our judging aright, what is by a Christian to be believed, or embraced as *De Fide*, and so as the disbelieving thereof will be chargeable upon him.

11. And if, after all this, and without the charity of any such admonition, we shall still by unrelenting adversaries be censured and condemned, as Heretics, (and upon that account cast out as refuse-branches, and unchurched members; and so that unity and communion, which Christ hath commanded to continue among His Disciples, become unattainable by us,) herein we complain of great

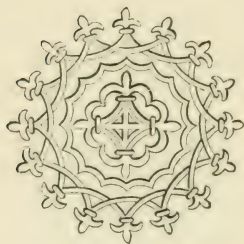
unkindness and injustice in the Church of Rome, and in those that join and adhere to her in that sentence, which by Papal Bull was long since sent out against us; and upon these premised grounds we resolve still to retain that degree of charity to our most implacable enemies, as to pray for them, and to admonish them of the eminent danger of their uncharitableness, in case those hindrances be not upon due judgment removed on their part, which obstruct the union and peace of Christendom. It being most unreasonable that among them which communicate in every branch of the one Apostolical faith, that sacred band should yet be violated, upon vain and empty pretences of diversities of opinion or usages in such matters, which are far removed from the great foundation of Apostolical doctrines and practices, or which are not sufficiently testified to come from them, who yet are justly presumable to have delivered carefully (and appointed the Church to preserve faithfully through all ages) all those things, which are fundamentally necessary for

a Christian to believe or practise to his soul's health.

12. If reason herein will not be heard, to the repairing of breaches and demolishing the *μεσότοιχον φράγμον*, that sept or wall of separation, which was once in the Temple set up betwixt Jews and Gentile worshippers, but received its decretory sentence in the death of Christ, never to be re-edified among Christians; if that enmity that was nailed to His Cross, must be revived, and quickened to a life immortal among His members; if whilst we faithfully retain the whole faith of Christ, we must still be looked on, as traditors and mutilators of it, it will yet be manifest to all that consider the premises, that this is to be numbered among our calamities, not our guilts, that these darts of the tongue were not directed at us, with any special aim, or judgment, (we might have been called magicians as well, and so banished out of Rome, upon the Old Edict, *contra Mathematicos*, with as much propriety as upon the new, *contra Hæreticos*,) and in fine, that the objection hath received its

answer according to the utmost improvement, of which it is capable, whether as the low ebb of our present persecuted estate, or as our pretended departure from the Catholic faith, is, or can, with any colour of reason, be suggested to have unchurched us.







CHAP. VI.

A THIRD DIFFICULTY, RAISED FROM ACTS IV. 19,
AND 1 COR. IX. 16, SATISFIED.

§. 1. AFTER this so large a survey of those two sorts of objections from others, there remains a third, which our own breasts are ready to suggest, by way of scruple ; whether the words of St. Peter and St. John, Acts iv. 19, and of St. Paul, 1 Cor. ix. 16, be not of some force, to lay obligation on us Ministers of the Gospel at this time, and how we shall quit ourselves of that obligation ?

§. 2. In the former text, verse 6. and 15, When the Sanhedrim called those Apostles, and commanded them “ not to speak at all, nor to teach,” ver. 18.; their answer is in these

words, "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you, more than unto God, judge ye; for we cannot but speak"—where sure the phrases of hearkening unto God, obeying Him, and, we cannot but speak,—noted an obligation lying upon them from God to speak and to teach, such as no countermand from the Sanhedrim could take off from them.

§. 3. And so in the latter text a necessity is acknowledged by St. Paul to lie upon him, a moral necessity (and that sure denotes an obligation) and woe is unto him, if he preach not the Gospel.

§. 4. For the answering of this, some (of the many) differences must be observed, which at first sight offer themselves, betwixt the condition of the Apostles then, and those now, which are under this interdict. A first difference may be discerned in respect of the matter of their preaching, which was then so indispensably required of the Apostles: what that was, will appear by the commission given to the eleven^a; "Go therefore and teach all

^a Matt. xxviii. 19.

nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." As for St. Paul, though he were none of this number, yet his assumption to the office Apostolical, expressed by his being a "chosen vessel unto Christ, to bear His name before the Gentiles and Kings^b;" and the command of the Holy Ghost to "separate him to that work^c;" did doubtless bind the same bands on him, and so this same engagement of publishing the Christian doctrine through all the world to those that were ignorant of it, of receiving proselytes, all that should come in to that faith of Christ, and of building them up in it.

§. 5. Here then to those as to a select number of שליחים *Apostles*, or *proxies*, of Christ on earth, was a commission given, and therein a command to publish the Gospel over "all the world;" and had they neglected it willingly, or by any terrors been affrighted from it, that message (which Christ came in

^b Acts ix. 15.

^c Acts xiii. 2.

so stupendous a manner from Heaven to publish) had consequently never been revealed to the world, and then this so precious talent deposited with them, being thus laid up unoccupied, would have brought on them regularly the guilt, and woe of wicked, as well as unprofitable servants. And this is the ground of that obligation, that lay on them, and is expressed in those two texts in the objection.

§. 6. But the Bishops of our Church, and the inferior officers, the Presbyters under them, though they are in some degree the proxies of those proxies, the successors of those Apostles; yet the commission to go and preach, belongs not to them, in the same extent, as it did to the Apostles, nor to all the same purposes: our commission is limited, and so the obligation incumbent on us is limited also.

§. 7. The Gospel being long ago by the Apostles' travels solemnly preached over all the world, and either received by faith, or rejected by obstinacy, or cast off by apostacy, there was a period and conclusion of those

travels, their doctrine being deposited in all their plantations, and in the written word consigned for the perpetual uses of the Churches, it was no longer incumbent, *ex officio*, on every spiritual person, to trace all the steps of those, that thus travelled for the first planting them. It is sure the Indies and Chinese are none of our province now, though they once were of some of the Apostles^d.

§. 8. Nay, even in those first times we read of some, whom they fixed in settled stations, παρακαλοῦντες πρoσμεῖναι, *appointing them to abide*, and καταλείποντες, *leaving them* in such or such a province^e, beyond which they were not obliged to journey, but as the same Apostles directed them upon emergent occasions.

§. 9. Nay, the Apostles themselves at length made an end of their travels, sat down, St. John at Ephesus, St. Peter at Rome.—And after

^d Dr Hammond is not speaking of the duty which binds the Catholic Church to evangelize the Heathen, but of the personal ministry of the ordinary Priesthood and Episcopate of any Church.

^e 1 Tim. i. 3. and Tit. i. 5.

them in the words of the eleventh and twelfth Canons Apostolical, it was soon forbidden, that any man should *ἐτέρα παροικία ἐπιπηδᾶν*, or *ἀπελθεῖν*, *go or meddle* beyond his own line, move out of that circle, wherein he was fixed. And yet certainly obedience to those Canons, though not written by the Apostles, but by the first Bishops, Apostolical men, and so (in the words of that text, wherein the objection is founded) a hearkening unto men, will never be deemed an offending or sinning against God ; if it were, all order and unity would soon be banished out of the Church, as by this *ἀλλοτριοεπισκοπία* we see it in some Churches at this time.

§. 10. Here then is a first difference, in respect of the matter of their preaching, and their immediate mission to that work, which brought the *Væ si non* ; they were by Christ obliged to promulgate the Gospel ; we, that are come into their labours, where it is promulgate already, are not under the same causes, and so neither under the same strictness of that obligation : The engagements that now lie upon

us arise from some other heads, the designations, and trusts of our superiors in the Church, the wants of the flock, over whom we are placed, or the opportunities of charity, which offer themselves to us, but not the preceptive commission of Christ of going, and preaching the faith to all nations.

§. 11. But if this were the entire answer, some farther objection would lie against it. For the Apostles' task being not only that of witnessing the resurrection of Christ, and so the whole Christian religion, confirmed by it, but particularly that of calling unreformed sinners to repentance (as we see their sermons summed up in the Gospel, as John Baptist's and Christ's also were, "Repent, for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand") it is obvious thus to enforce the former argument, that the sins of these nations, and our impenitent continuance therein, are sufficient to remove this difference, there is now as much need of Sermons of repentance, as there was then of preaching the faith of Christ; and why then should not the obligation lie as indis-

pensably upon us, as it then did upon the Apostles?

§. 12. To this objection the answer must be, not by denying the truth of the suggestion in either of the premises, for it is certain, that was the style of the Baptist's, of Christ's, of the Disciples, and so afterwards of the Apostles' preaching; and it is indeed hard to conceive how or when there should be greater need of preaching reformation, and of employing all our spiritual artillery, the keenest weapons of our warfare for the demolishing of strongholds, of bringing down obdurate hearts to the obedience of Christ, than there is most visibly in these nations at this time. But by examining the force of the consequence which from thence infers the necessity of our withstanding the present interdict, and continuing to preach. That this consequence is most irregular, soon appears by survey of the premises, which neither severally nor jointly have power thus to infer, or to make up any regular syllogism, of which this shall be the conclusion. The fairest syllogism that the matter is capable of

will be this: The Apostles by Christ's command preached repentance to impenitent sinners, but the people of this nation are impenitent sinners; therefore, the Ministers here are obliged not to give over preaching, whatever interdict or menace of violence restrain them from it. But this is far from a regular syllogism, not capable of being reformed, or reduced, to any figure or mould of reasoning, artificial, or inartificial, neither of the premises having any influence upon the conclusion, nor indeed connection within themselves. Christ's precept of preaching repentance to impenitent sinners, even then when it did oblige, did not oblige them never to intermit, or give it over, whatsoever the consequences were. When they had preached, and were not received, but persecuted, they were allowed to leave such obstinate impenitents to shake off their dust against them, and so to denounce judgments by departing from them, to preach most loudly, by not preaching.

§. 13. And for impenitence, sure that lays not obligation, where Christ's command had

said none, *i. e.* where it is obstinate against light, and means of reformation. It was our Saviour's speech put by Him into the mouth of father Abraham, "They have Moses and the Prophets, let them hear them: and if they hear not them, neither will they repent or be persuaded, though one should come to them from the dead."

§. 14. When sins have been committed, and are gone on in for want of light, there preaching of repentance, and convincing the ignorant world of sin, is the gospel method, and be their sins the greatest in the world, and the most unnatural, such as the Gentiles were, yet God can *ὑπεριδεῖν*, so far *look over*, or not see such rebellions, as to send out His heralds of peace, and command them all "every where to repent," yea, and sometimes to work miracles for the opening such men's eyes, who, as St. Paul^f saith of himself, being blasphemers, persecutors and injurious, yet are discerned by Him that knows the secrets of hearts, to "do it ignorantly in unbelief^g."

^f Acts xvii. 30.

^g 1 Tim. i. 13.

§. 15. But when it is not thus imputable to ignorance, but resistance of the light, to loving and coveting of darkness^b, to the scorner's delighting in that trade, and the "fools hating knowledgeⁱ," it may then be seasonable with God, and not contrary to duty in man, to let them alone, no longer to importune them who will not receive instruction.

§. 16. And this is too visibly the present condition of this people, our sins have not the apology or extenuation of ignorance; our deeds of darkness, that have clothed themselves in the thickest cloud, and deepest secrecy, are of all others most unquestionably sins against light and knowledge and conscience. And our riots, and oaths, and perjuries, and profanations; in a word, all our sorts of pollutions both of flesh and spirit, are certainly such; and those are they that denominate us an impenitent people, on supposal of which the enforcement of that argument was founded.

§. 17. And to such blind people that have eyes, which βλέποντες οὐ βλέπουσι, *see very per-*

^b John iii. 19.

ⁱ Prov. i. 22.

fectly, but will not perceive^k, that have steeled their foreheads against reproofs, it were but regular, and that which we learn from the Apostles' practice, as to shake off dust against them, so to mark and avoid, and not to have fellowship with such, much less to pursue them with the importunity of more Sermons, but rather to forsake them, without being driven from them; there being no reason, why they should hear, any more than preach God's word, take His Covenant into their ears or mouths, who thus despise instructions, and hate to be reformed.

§. 18. And if it be interposed, that sure all men and women among us, are not to be put into this forlorn *classis* of hopeless impenitents, there being many thousands now, as in Elias's days, that are not engulfed in the corruptions of the times, I reply by a most willing, joyful confession, and only require it be remembered, that then there was no strength, as far as concerns these, in that enforcement of the argument, which took rise only from the considera-

^k Isaiah xliii. 8; Acts xxviii. 27.

tion of the unreformed impenitent sinners, which exacted our Sermons of repentance.

§. 19. As for those then, that are in a middle and more improveable estate, to whom the exercise of our functions are, or probably may be, real charity ; there, I shall acknowledge the Ministers of the word to lie under engagements, not such as arise from Christ's command to His Apostles, "to go and preach," wherein the objection was founded ; but on other heads, especially those of charity, and ministering to the wants of souls. And though the example of Gregory Nazianzen, that great and pious Bishop, might justify some other resolution, who in such evil times, being without any pretence of crime removed out of his Bishopric, ¹resisted many importunities, took his leave of the Emperor, retired to Arianzum, and in ^mrest

¹ Πολλοὶ τοῦ λαοῦ συνέρρουν δακρύνοντες, ἰκετεύοντες, ἀντιβολουῦντες ἐλεῆσαι τὸ ποιμνίον, ὃ πόνοις τε καὶ ἰδρῶσι τοσούτοις ἐξέθρεψέ τε καὶ ἤυξησε. Greg. Naz. Vit. N. 3.

^m Ἀναγκαῖον ὤηθη ἐν Ἀριάνζοις ἡσυχάζων μετὰ τὴν ὑποστροφὴν καὶ χολὴν οἶα πραγμάτων ἀπηλλαγμένος γράψαι τὰ ἔμμετρα. Ibid. N. 5.

and divine poesy ended his days ; yet I shall not lay hold on that advantage, but in compliance with the interests of charity rather than with any other of any meaner allay, I shall deem this account most Christian, that we oblige ourselves never to be wanting to them, that are thus capable, in any duty of necessary charity, that no fear of men, or other worldly consideration, deter us from such performances, that whensoever our Ministry be called for by the real and pressing wants of the meanest of Christ's little ones, like Cræsus's dumb son, in an important exigence, we stretch the string of our tongues, rush through any obstacle, and resolve with the Apostle in the objection, we cannot but speak.

§. 20. So that still the resolution of conscience must be by levelling the particular case according to the rule or square that belongs to it, the command of our great Master incumbent on us. And though that lay not obligation to preach, *ratione officii*, yet if it lay obligation of charity to minister to the necessities of any Christian's soul, in whatsoever instance, our love

will prove very imperfect and maimed, if it do not cast out fear, set about its work, whatsoever the dangers be. And so generally our direction must be not by that which is most safe, but most charitable; and by attending to that, we shall have advanced a good step toward the solution of the difficulty.

§. 21. But then thirdly a farther difference there is observable betwixt the Apostle's case and ours, in respect of the occasions and circumstances of delivering the words. For the words in St. Paul, it is evident they looked not on persecution, but only want of wages for his preaching, and the utmost importance of, or inference from his words is, that though he have no kind of subsistence from his auditors, no part of their offertoryⁿ yet he is under a sad *Væ si non*, obliged to preach to them. And then if we by any outward discouragements, the no reward for our labours, the not reaping of carnal things, be thus cooled in discharge of our duties, and dispensing our spiritual things, then are we with

ⁿ Verse 13.

some reason to apprehend the *Væ* denounced by St. Paul on this neglect, which that it cannot by analogy be extended to this other case of forcible interdict, appears by the express words of Christ even while He requires perseverance in His Disciplesⁿ, "When they persecute you in this city, flee ye to another," and is exemplified by St. Paul^o.

§. 22. And though still the other example of St. Peter and John seem contrary, yet certainly that must be capable of such an interpretation as shall be reconcileable with these two, the express words of Christ, and practice of their fellow Apostle.

§. 23. For sure there is some more than show of difficulty in this, how those two Apostles should be, under a command of God, obliged not to give over preaching in Jerusalem, when they were thus interdicted and threatened by the Sanhedrim, as that signifies persecuted from that city, when yet the Disciples are allowed by Christ, in that case of persecution to remove to some other city, *i. e.* to obey

▪ Matt. x. 23.

• 2 Cor. xi. 32.

that unchristian interdict so armed with force ; and when Paul upon the like occasions professeth once to have been “let down by a basket,” and by flight (and so preaching no longer in that city) to “have escaped their hands^q.” And at another time to have been for a time withheld, or kept from the Thessalonians^r, by the violent oppositions and interdicts of his adversaries. And what answer soever shall be thought satisfactory to this, will, I doubt not, be applicable to our present case.

§. 24. For first, If the account should be, that this was an heroical act of zeal in those two Apostles, *παραβολένεσθαι* and *ῥιψοκινδυνεῖν*, to imitate Christ so far as to adventure the utmost dangers for His sake, yet not under divine precept, and so not part of strict duty, then that absolves us from being under such duty, and leaves it only an act of Christian magnanimity, when the circumstances of the action render it truly such, *i. e.* whensoever the great ends of charity may best be served

^q 2 Cor. xi. 33.

^r 1 Thess. ii. 16—18.

by our preaching and suffering, and thus much is willingly acknowledged.

§. 25. But the truth is, this seems not to come home to St. Peter's words of "hearken-
ing to God" and "we cannot but teach,"
which seem to suppose some command of
God binding on their shoulders an indispens-
able necessity of doing what they did.

§. 26. Secondly then, If the answer be, that
the threatening them at that time was visibly
but an empty terror, being joined with a re-
leasing them out of custody^s, and so but an
expression of their dislike, and their fear of
them rather than a persecuting them, and that
in that case the duty of propagating the
Gospel, and beginning that at Jerusalem, was
in full force incumbent on them at this time,
Non obstante the dispensation granted them^t,
of flying when they were persecuted. Then
likewise will it be in force by analogy to us,
that we should not be amazed by empty
terrors, but pursue the discharge of our
functions, as far as violence will permit us ;

^s Ver. 3. and 21.

^t Mat. x. 23.

nor feigning mormoes to ourselves, or making the fancy or shadow of the lion in the way, the motive or excuse of our real sloth, or neglect of our callings.

§. 27. Or thirdly, If it be answered, that that advice for flight in persecution was given to the disciples^u before their receiving their Apostolical charge and commission^x, and so that these Apostles might be now under precept of not yielding to this violence, though the Disciples were not. Then again, though that will not be made good by any grounds of Scripture, nor prove reconcileable with the practice of St. Paul at Damascus, who was an Apostle also (having already questionless his mission from Heaven to that office), yet will that be of use also to our present difficulty, for then all officers, howsoever entrusted by Christ, are not presently under the same obligations that St. Peter and those other Apostles were, and so their example is not farther to be extended, than other Scriptures and examples,

^u Mat. x.

^x Mat. xxviii. John xx.

and the consideration of all circumstances give reason to extend it.

§. 28. Of one of these two Apostles, St. John, the Scripture tells us that he was at length banished to Patmos, an island, “for the testimony of Jesus^y.” It was not certainly any fault, or but *ἡττημα* in him, that he did not resist this edict, but yield to that force which executed it upon him. And yet when he was there, we find not that he had opportunity for any office of his Apostleship, save that of praying and communicating in the tribulations and patience of the kingdom of Christ, and receiving and writing of visions; and nothing contrary to duty in this, the violence that carried him to that island, was his very reasonable account, that he laboured not now in the Word and Gospel.

§. 29. The like may be said of St. Chrysostom, twice banished from his Patriarchate of Constantinople, and of many others in all evil times, disseised of their chairs and functions, for no other cause, but as John, *διὰ*

μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ, for the testimony of Jesus, and their deprivations were one way of testifying of Christ, as their preaching had (and, if they might have enjoyed that liberty, still would have) been another.

§. 30. Some disparity there is indeed between these examples and the case which is now before us; John was actually transported to that island, and we are only interdicted under the penalty of the like transportation, which being yielded, it yet must follow, that either the whole weight of the objection must be founded in this disparity, or else that it will receive its full answer by this consideration.

§. 31. This disparity, if it have any real weight in it, it must be on one of these two accounts; either, first, That what is now threatened, ought not to be feared, till it be present, and that this remoter fear is not *Metus qui potest cadere in virum fortem*, such as is incident to a valiant man; or else, secondly, That those performances which will now actuate the threats, and bring that punishment upon us, are, or may probably be of some consider-

able weight, or benefit, to the glory of God, or good of souls.

§. 32. For the former of these; 1. That is not a question of duty, but of prudence, and so lays not obligation till the question of prudence be first stated. 2. For the prudential part, there are no grounds on which to establish that. It is not (without the spirit of prophecy) within our reach to comprehend, how likely, or unlikely it is, that this punishment will be really inflicted: none but God can know the hearts of the interdicters or restrain their power, and He hath not revealed to us, either that they will not, or shall not execute their laws, and so it is neither cowardice nor imprudence, not ^zpusillanimity but rational foresight, to expect, that they who have been so severe to promulgate this interdict, may not be so kind as to rescind or suspend the execution of the penalties denounced by it. Or if any man have reason to think otherwise, he may then be obliged to act by that reason, but not to

^z Οὐκ ἀγεννὲς ἐστὶ τὸ μετ' οἰκονομίας περιστάμενον τοὺς κινδύνους, μὴ ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς χωρεῖν. Origen. cont. Cels.

impose it *sub periculo animæ* on every other man, who discerns no cause for such persuasion.

§. 33. For the 2nd. It is visible in the interdict on one side, that the first single exercise of our functions brings imprisonment; the second a second imprisonment; and the third the deportation parallel to that which was St. John's portion: but the advantage on the other side is not visible; for 1. There is no duty of piety in our prospect, no confession of Christ (which was wont to ennoble the primitive sufferings) our not preaching for a while is by no kind of interpretation a denying of Christ. Nor 2. Obedience either to any command of Christ's (as I suppose hath already been cleared) or yet to the trusts or commands of those that have committed any part of God's flock unto us, for all those trusts and commands reserve place for outward accidents, for sickness, for urgent avocations, &c. Nor 3. Obligation or motive of charity; It is not discernible what real advantage it will bring to any of our brethren, that he that hath preached a thousand Sermons

already, should preach two Sermons more, which may not be equally provided for, by some other safer means.

§. 34. And then as the Apostle's repeated exhortation hath its place, so that is expressed to be, in such *πονηραὶ ἡμέραι*, *evil days*, or *times*, viz. that we should *ἐξαγοράζεσθαι καιρόν*, *gain or buy out the season* : St. Chrysostom interprets it by the contrariety to *περιττοὺς κινδύνους ὑπομένειν καὶ κέρδος οὐκ ἔχοντας*, *undergoing unnecessary and gainless dangers*, such as no obligation exacts nor charity invites, and Plutarch^a paraphrases it by *ὠνεῖσθαι τοῦ χρόνου τὴν ἀσφάλειαν*, *buying the safety of the time*, i. e. avoiding the present danger, and reserving ourselves for opportunities of more profitable services.

§. 35. Such opportunities as these, are as gifts of God, and it cannot be either wise or pious or charitable, to forfeit or sell them for no price. That we should set some valuation upon them we have St. Cyprian's example, and that commended as a special act of generosity

^a Apoph. Scipion.

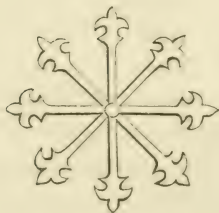
and self-denial^b in him, that having in his prospect some service which he might perform to God by living, he made choice of longer life by subducing himself in time of danger, rather than of the Martyr's crown when it was fairly offered him.

§. 36. Besides these, there is also a competent number of present employments for our Christian and Ministerial talents still remaining to us notwithstanding the present interdict: I shall not need enumerate them, but only mind, my brethren, that continual prayer for all men, and particularly for our unkindest enemies, is one seasonable part of that task: and though that might be performed also in Patmos, yet others there are, of which a strange land, or wilderness is not capable; and between these we may profitably and comfortably divide this vacancy, and busily and charitably, and to very excellent purpose, exercise ourselves, till God shall in mercy return our wonted tasks, call us

^b Maluit præceptis Dei obedire, quàm vel sic coronari.
Pontius Diac. in Vit. Cypr.

back to the constant labour and full business of His vineyard again.

§. 37. And if herein we be not scandalously wanting to these opportunities, which how improbably soever they look at a distance, God can convert, and hath certainly in His wisdom designed for the greater advantages of His servants, and to more abundant fruit to our account, this will be matter of full satisfaction, and more than so, even of comfort and joy to conscience, and supersede all necessity of farther answer to this scruple.





CHAP. VII.

THE BENEFICIAL USES OF OUR PRESENT CONDITION.

SECT. I.

FIRST, CONTEMPT OF THE WORLD.

1. Thus far I have proceeded by way of retrospect, or reflection on the sad matter of our present condition, and endeavoured to foresee and forestal those scandals to which it is principally liable, that no man may be ensnared, or offended, or so much as discouraged by it.

2. It is now time, that I look forward on some few of the many great uses we are to make of this state, the beneficial exercises which seem most peculiarly apportioned to it ;

that so we may according to St. Paul's direction τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτένεσθαι, *give a stretch forward to the things which are before*, and so διώκειν, make that a *latter stage* in our present course toward the great βραβεῖον, the *prize* (of all, and so) of our present agonies.

3. And the first step that we advance, as it cannot miss to furnish us with an armature against all the vastest changes that this mutable world can subject us to, with an *O passi graviora*, giving us an assurance, that what next shall come cannot be more strange and unexpected, less within the diviners power to foresee, or indeed much more vast and horrid at the nearest approach, than this which we already discern that God hath chosen for us; so it may be very proper to wean us, and mortify in us all fondness to that, which hath now nothing left that is lovely or desirable in it.

4. We know David's *Unicum petii*^c, the one thing that he counted worth desiring of the Lord, and without which all the rest had no relish in it. And this hath God seen fit to

^c Psalm xxvii. 4.

rend from us at this time, that we may have never an hostage left to engage our kindness to the world.

5. When all that deserves to be rejoiced in in this life, is most strictly warded from us (such sure are the fruits of that paradise from which we are now exiled), what Christian spirit of the coarsest mould, that hath most of allay in his composition, can in earnest solicit a reprieve of the severest sentence, court this world, or dread a final parting with it, when by any farther summons He that hath cast him into these briars and thorns, shall mercifully call and invite him out of them?

6. The Eremite or Anchoret that hath passed so great a part of his journey toward Heaven, as to become within a pace of his *non ultra* (like Simeon Stylita in Theodoret, immured in his pillar, and become already but his own statue and monument, as it were), and hath but the patience of one step more required of him, to conclude his travel, to lodge him in Abraham's bosom, were surely very unkind to Heaven, and treacherous to his own aims and

interests, if he should then stop, or start, or think of a retreat.

7. And the like contradiction were it to our own greatest concernments, when we are divested of all the *vivendi causæ*, the comforts or causes of living, the chief of which is that glad-some news in the Psalmist, when they said unto him, "Let us go up to the house of the Lord," whereupon he could revive himself out of any dumps with this one cordial, "My feet shall stand in thy gates, O Jerusalem, and Jerusalem is as a city at unity within itself,"—when, I say, we are cast out of this presence of the Lord, this comfortable, though but ambulatory tent of His, where for a time He hath allowed us an access unto Him, to tremble at the sight of that officer, which comes but to return us to our home and joys, and to secure the firmness of our future abode, that it shall be ascertained to us for ever.

8. Shammatha and Maranatha we know were the significative titles of the Jewish exterminations, and the interpretation of them the approach of destruction from the Lord;

the Sanhedrim's casting out of the assembly, was, saith Josephus, the frequent forerunner of that other out of the land of the living. And the like abode was thought to attend the Druid's censures, when they interdicted any man the liberty of sacrificing, *quæ pœna apud eos gravissima est*, saith Cæsar^d, the heaviest punishment that could befall the Gauls or Britons. And though this of ours be no parallel, yet it may be useful thus far to mind us of our duty, to prepare us so, as not to be surprised, whatsoever God shall next send.

6. Meanwhile one comfort this of ours is capable of, above any real, though meekest censures of the Church (*ἐπιτιμιαί* and *νουθεσίαι*, the *reproofs* or *admonitions Ecclesiastical*) that it is not *Futuri judicii præjudicium*, in^e Tertullian's phrase, hath no inauspicious influence on our future weal, the binding us on earth, though it never be rescinded here, will be far from interdicting, or excluding us from Heaven: there was, I hope, never more truth

^d De Bell. Gall. l. 6.

^e Apol. c. 39.

in Origen's^f resolution, *Qui ante non exiit nihil lœditur, unde interdum fit, He that was not gone out before, is not harmed by this interdict, he that is cast out, is still within.*

10. Let us by the help of God, and in obedience to these, and all other His gracious chastisements, retain, or timely get our clean nuptial garments about us, and then though we be gathered up from the lanes and hedges, we shall have no reason to doubt of our call to, and reception at the marriage.

^f In Levit. Hom. 14. Sect. 3.





SECT. II.

SECONDLY, UNIVERSAL REFORMATION.

1. BUT then secondly, as in the censures of the Church, those last methods of Apostolical and divine charity, designed for the ransom and reduction of the most enthralled captive, and obstinately bent to bring him home to God, though it were by the ministry of Satan himself, there was no peace to be hoped, or obtained from this importunity, no truce from these merciful scourges, these wounds of the perfectest friend, whilst there remained one excess unhumbled, one lust unpurged, one rage unmortified, one *ὀχύρωμα*, be it high or stronghold, pride or habit of sin, unlevelled

or unsubdued ; so must we reckon of it at this time, while we are under these shadows and false images of it.

2. The rebukes of Heaven that are now upon us, are as inexorable as His unwearied love of souls can make them ; we must not in kindness to ourselves beg their remove, till they have finished the saving work for which they are as surely sent, as Christ came into the world upon the same errand ; and then what an inauspicious symptom must it be, if the application shall increase the paroxysms, if the sins that brought these judgments to chastise them, should make a shift to thrive under them, if the fruitful parent should become also the incestuous birth of its own progeny.

3. The intimations which Scripture gives us of such charitative severities (such certainly are God's now unto us, designed wholly to ends of mercy) all look this way ; Bishop Titus's rebukes^ε must be whet, till they advance to the ἀποτόμως, to be *sharp and cutting*,

^ε Tit. i. 13.

and never lose the edge, till they have obtained their design, (*ἵνα ὑγαίνωσιν*) till they have by lancing fetched out the very core of the imposthume, the dregs and sediment of the disease.

4. The Apostle elsewhere expresses it by very comprehensive phrases, by *καθαίρειν λογισμοὺς*^h, *subduing and bringing* to nothing the very thoughts, disputes, or reasonings in the breasts, *πᾶν ὕψωμα*, *every elation, or unevenness in the heart*, that doth but *ἐπαίρεσθαι*, *lift itself up against the knowledge of God or Christian practice*, *πᾶν νόημα*, *every conceit or notion*, and in fine *ἐκδικῆσαι*, *to act revenge, to punish capitally*, so as it never revive again, *πᾶσαν παρακοήν*, *every not hearkening or disobedience*; and till this be done effectually, Timothy must not be too hasty to impose handsⁱ, absolve, or loose those censures, lest he bring upon himself the guilt of those sins which it was the duty of his censures to reform in others; the *ἐπακολουθούσαι ἁμαρτίαι*, *consequent sins*^k, those that are still continued in after the hand of

^h 2 Cor. x. 5, 6.ⁱ 1 Tim. v. 22.^k Ver. 24.

discipline is upon a man, have a fearful aggravation belonging to them, that of thundering back against Heaven, the most unagreeable return to the utmost charity, the most prodigious anomaly, or irregularity in the world.

5. We know the dress that belonged to the excommunicated person, both in the Jewish and Primitive Christian Church, the same, that of the strictest profoundest mourners, and all the assembly were to accompany him in the same doleful habit; St. Paul expresses it by God's¹ humbling the very Apostle that inflicts it, and his^m coming ἐν λύπῃ in a mournful guise unto the offender. And in this also the parallel may hold, the mourning weeds in many respects very well become us at this time. And shall he that is a mourning for himself, a celebrating as it were his own obsequies, (and should in reason begin the *θρηνωδία*, the doleful elegy to others in an accent of exemplary sorrow) forget the business in hand so prodigiously, as to mistake an oath or execration for it, to aim that shaft

¹ 2 Cor. xii. 21.

^m 2 Cor. ii. 3.

against Heaven, that should have been designed at his own breast, bewail his excesses in new riots, and as the deluge to the old world, overwhelm the sinner, instead of purging away the sin?

6. Were this tolerably fit to be the return but to human discipline, to him "that speaketh" (though it be oracles, so χρηματίζων signifieth) "on earth;" yet it were almost intolerable madnessⁿ thus to turn away from "Him that speaketh from Heaven," and that is our case at this time.

7. It is vain to question the instruments, when by its being fallen upon us, we know the counsel and hand of God προὐρίσε γένεσθαι, *hath preordained it shall be done*, not only permitting it thus to fall, but also designing it charitatively to our greatest good, the mortifying every sin that still lives among us. And if we do not now qualify ourselves for our return to this glorious kingdom of His on earth (into which there is no regular entrance for "any thing that defileth^o, or that worketh

ⁿ Heb. xii. 25.

^o Rev. xxi. 27.

abomination or lie," I mean either for carnality or hypocrisy) just as we would think ourselves obliged to do for our admission into the kingdom of Heaven, that vision which may not be approached without all kind of purity, we are still fitted for severer methods, and cannot without a kind of sacrilege covet, or wish a liberty of access to God's holy things, which cannot be enjoyed without being defiled also, and profaned by us.

8. What is here said thus generally, ought to be as distinctly and particularly applied to every leprous spot, or plague-sore in each unreformed sinner's heart among us, as if I had delivered by retail the most perfect catalogue of them. "Let us search and try our ways^p," and now if ever perfect our vows of returning to the Lord.

9. And this must be endeavoured by all the most probable remaining means, that may any way be ordainable to it, sure not by men's taking advantage of the times, and casting off all even "form of godliness^q," this is the sad fruit of the

^p Lam. iii. 40.

^q Heb. vi. 8.

reprobate soil, the forerunner of curse and burning. But the more desolate our condition is, the more solicitously to endeavour to gain God to our society and assistance, to keep close to Him in constant frequent returns of converse on our knees, or on our faces (to that our closets are much better accommodated, than our churches, or more public assemblies, and our exclusion from them may well mind us of that posture either of Christ^r, or of the *προσκλαίοντες*, or *howling penitentiaries* in the primitive times) talking with Him, and receiving both aids and directions from Him, handling Him and seeing Him in His word (and those much more faithful means of converting spiritual food into spiritual nourishment, than the ear hath been experimented to be) and so with more advantage filling ourselves out of the ocean, without repining that the drop of the bucket is taken away from us.

10. It is possible we may be found to have somewhat by us in store, that may prove food, when the famine hath cooked it for us; that

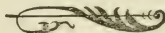
^r Matt. xxvi. 39.

prayer which Christ gave us (as once God by Moses did manna, from Heaven) may, when it is better considered, than our plenty ever yet permitted it to be, prove an help to all our infirmities, that one plate of pure gold be beaten out into a great deal of wire, increase like the widow's oil and meal, by a deliberate effusion (as I have heard of a pious man, that made it his whole private office) not by giving it the number of the Romanists' Rosary, but by impressing on his own heart first, and from thence pouring out to God, the weight and full commentary (as far as his and his brethren's known wants suggested) of every petition. And I doubt not but it may prove like manna in that respect also, agreeable to every good Christian's taste, and proper to his stomach, if he come now with a vigorous appetite to make use of it.

11. And if but the several articles of the Creed might be used as they were meant, to enforce on us the many great engagements of sincere reformation, and to mind us of the mercy of the second covenant, the merit, and

example of His sufferings, and the power and blessed influence of His resurrection, &c. we should need no more outward aids (though there be innumerable still ready at hand for any that could have received benefit by those which are now taken from us) but those which it is very hard for us to miss, the several branches of our duty, very legible in the most perspicuous parcels of Scripture, the Decalogue and the Sermon in the Mount, to direct us in that way, wherein, by God's help, instantly implored, we may be secure from stumbling.

12. However, if a trusty guide may add either to the comfort or safety of this journey, there are such now at leisure, that may be had without hire, it is pity (if they may be employed to thy benefit) they should be suffered to be idle, being indeed never more proper and profitable in any case, than in this of overlooking thy performances of this first branch of repentance, in the duties of mortification.





SECT. III.

THIRDLY, FRUITS OF REPENTANCE. AMONG THEM,
FIRST, PERFECT CONTENTMENT: DISCERNIBLE
BY TWO TRIALS.

1. BUT for the loosing of sinners, and restoring them to the peace of the Church, the bare mortification is not sufficient. The rescuing from the jaws or gates of hell doth not presently secure us of our right to Heaven. There must be the building of houses and planting of orchards (saith St. Hierome^s on Jer. xxix. 5.) "taking wives, and begetting of sons and daughters," *cum ex Jerusalem, i. e. Ecclesia ejecti fuerimus, When we are cast out of Jerusalem, i. e. the Church.* There must be the *καλὰ ἔργα πρόδηλα*, *good works^t*, in the plural,

^s Tom. iv. p. 292. D.

^t 1 Tim. v. 25.

(ἀγαθοεργίαι the *penitential Canons* usually style them, the living in more than one single trade of goodnesses) and those manifest or discernible, (there being in that case no rule given for the concealing, but rather publishing them,) before it can be seasonable with God or profitable for us to have His discipline removed.

2. Some of these that have most peculiarity of agreeableness to our present condition, may not unfitly be specified.

3. First, that of a perfect contentment and unfeigned submission to the good-will and choices of God, with what sharpness soever they come mixed to us : In the words of Micah, which St. Hierome recommends to him particularly on whom the censures of the Church are fallen^u, “ I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against Him^x,” (it is sure we have sins enough to own this, or

^u Si de congregatione fratrum et domo Dei ejicimur—in Ezec. cap. 17. tom. iii. p. 844. Par. 1704.

^x Micah vii. 9.

whatever worse thing shall happen to us)
 “until He plead my cause and execute judgment for me.”

4. To this plenitude of cheerful contentment, beside many others, one eminent motive suggests itself, by considering, that when we were so richly furnished with variety of infamous matter, any least of which might fitly have owned, as having most justly provoked the fiercest of God's revenges, and, if He had so pleased, made us doubly miserable, once under the smart of His rod, and a second turn under the reproach of the scandalous sin, which it signally was directed to point out and visit; God hath given to us (ἐχαρίσατο) out of His special undeserved favour vouchsafed to us to suffer for well doing, at least not for evil doing, (and that [†]such shall not lose its reward, the examples of Job and Lazarus will secure us,) and so to bear in our bodies no other (στίγματα)

† Κἂν μὴ διὰ τὸν θεὸν τις πάθῃ . . . πάθῃ δε ὅμως, καὶ γενναίως ἐνέγκῃ καὶ πράως, τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι δοξάζων.
 Chrys. Ep. Tom. iii. p. 560. &c. Καὶ ὁ Λάζαρος—ibid. infra, ed. Ben.

brands, or marks, but only those of the Lord Jesus. This, I say, if applied, and brought home by every man to his own individual, and the foulest sins he hath at any time been guilty of, and might have been surprised in, will found more than a contented acquiescence in God's present choices for us, even oblige us severally (as St. Peter thought most just upon this consideration) to "sanctify the Lord God in our hearts," to magnify the mercy, not repine at the severity, of His methods toward us.

5. And for the judging of this, whether it be sincerely what it ought, it must be observed, First, Whether we have any very unkind reflections on those that are the instruments of it. Abishai that would have had David's displeasure break out against him that cast stones at him and all his servants^z, did not look through David's optic; if he had, he would have discerned what David did, that possibly "the Lord had said unto him, Curse David, and who shall then say, Wherefore hath he done so?" It is as sure as any thing can be

^z 2 Sam. xvi. 9.

in the world, that God meant no real curses or mischiefs to David at this time, yet because David had sins enough, for which this, and much more might justly be permitted by God to fall upon him, and by his not withholding Shimei, it was evident God had thus chosen to permit it, the holy man is forward to take it as coming directly from God, and quarrels nothing but the impatience of Abishai, "What have I to do with you ye sons of Zeruiah, so let him curse, because the Lord^a," &c.

6. The pious man under God's discipline hath impatience to none, but those that would have him impatient, as our Saviour, that expresseth not the least displeasure to the instruments of His death, to Caiaphas, to Pilate, to the soldiers, to Judas, to the devil himself, doth yet rebuke Peter's kindness that would have averted His suffering it: he is the only Satan that would rob Him of His cheerful and joyful submission to the Father's will, for the accomplishing of which Satan himself is but a kind of disciple: Judas and he do Him a very

^a Ver. 10.

acceptable service ; the former is styled friend, and called upon only to make haste, in thus ministering unto Him^b.

7. Secondly, the sincerity of the contentment may be judged by the quiet and stillness and constancy in that posture, into which God hath cast us. An uncontented mind is always removing and tossing upon the bed, from one side to the other, as in a continual posture of the greatest uneasiness : and so is he, that hath any inward regrets to the condition, that God hath placed him in, whereas the pious man can be content to wait God's^c leisure, and with steadiness of fixed eyes to look for Him, till He shall please to discover His face.

8. Such indeed are wont to be times of temptation, wherein as false prophets are wont to arise^d, so they have many advantages, by

^b John xiii. 27.

^c Εἰ βουλευθείητε στήναι γενναίως, καὶ ὀλίγοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἦτε, περιέσσεσθε τῶν πλείονων τῶν ἐπὶ κακία καλλωπιζομένων. Chrys. Ep. ρμή, Lucio. Episc. tom. vii. p. 173. ed. Sav. [tom. iii. p. 638. C. ed. Ben.]

^d Matt. xxiv. 11.

the assistance whereof to deceive many, and the greatest and most prevalent of those is the reproach of our solitude. He that is cast out will be ready to hearken to any that tenders him an hospitable reception, and those that have least of reason to produce for his entering into their society, will be most forward to make use of such an advantage, which may supply the place of argument.

9. And thus an error that hath but the luck to be gotten in fashion, may by the pomp or *φαντασία* of many followers, probably enough get his company, that finds himself left alone, and is not very well pleased with the state, and satisfied of the reasons of his solitude.

10. This therefore is the second trial of our contentment, if being cast out by men, we can satisfy ourselves with God's company; (and the man that was born blind will yield us a good omen in this matter; when the Jews had cast him out^c, presently Jesus heard it and found him;) if being in the wilderness we be not one of

those reeds there, which our Saviour tells us are “shaken with the wind.”

11. This were the way to cast ourselves out indeed, and so to have that character of real heretics or schismatics, in St. Paul, so far as to be *αὐτοκατάκριτοι*, *condemned by our own sentence*, which is much worse than to be more severely handled by other men; and nothing but the grace of God and a contemplation of His wisdom, and an acquiescence in His choices (which sees persecution fitter for some servants of His than the greatest calm or grandeur of the most prosperous profession) can secure us (if temptations choose their seasons) from being thus shaken.





SECT. IV.

SECONDLY, PEACE WITH ALL MEN.

1. Our second vital employment, very fitly apportioned to our solitude, is our ardent desires of, and prayers for, the peace of Jerusalem: we know what was required of the captive Israelites, when they were carried into a strange land, to^f “seek the peace of that city, whither they were carried away captive, and to pray to the Lord for it.” And we now know, I hope, assuredly, whither it is that we are banished, even just thither where we were before, into the bosom of the holy Catholic Church of Christ.

2. And therefore as those, that serve God in an hermitage, have not thereby their

^f Jer. xxix. 7.

thoughts confined to that narrow compass wherein they corporally move, but intercede hourly for the most common concernments of all others; so must our oratories be now designed, like Daniel's chamber in Babylon, with our^s "windows wide open toward Jerusalem," our devotions and bended knees (his three times a day at least) engaged in that one great interest of all Christians, the glory, *i. e.* the peace and true piety of that new Jerusalem, which is come down from Heaven; that like that which remains there, it may be at unity within itself.

3. There cannot be a more^h amazing dismal prospect in the world, than that vast rupture and chasm betwixt the East and West (the effect of that wind, those *tormina*, of pride and ambition, and airy speculation, gotten long

^s Dan. vi. 10.

^h Ἐπέχει μοῦ τὸν λόγον ἡ μνήμη—ὑποτρέχουσα τὴν χαρδίαν, καὶ προπίπτου τὸ δάκρυον τὴν φωνὴν ἐπικόπτει, ὅταν ἐνθυμηθῶ ὅτι ἀγάπης καὶ εἰρήνης ἡμῖν παρὰ Κυρίου καταλειφθείσης οὐ ζητοῦμεν τὸ καταλειφθέν. Basil, Hom. xxix. tom. i. p. 620.

since into the bowels of the great body, and causing this Ecclesiastical σεισμός, this earthquake first, and thence this *hiatus* or aperture, which could never have the skill to close again) and then the many subdivisions, lesser rents and fractures, which are multiplied infinitely in this one Western part of it, a new *carnificina* or *act of cruelty* to the mystical Body of Christ; first, cut asunder in the midst, and then so much life secured to each moiety, as to make it capable of the rack and torture in every limb of it, and of continuing for ever howling and laughing at once under those torments, till at length it cannot without fits of the most phrenetic rage be besought to come out of this condition.

4. It is a strange romance, and to any that partakes but of ingenuous nature, an incredible fable, that the one heir of the Othoman family, having possession of so great a part of the world, far greater than any other potentate, should therein reign a sullen, solitary tyrant, consecrated first in the blood of all his brethren, and then thriving and prospering into a vast

bulk by keeping himself to this one cannibal diet (full haunts of the blood of men), receiving this tribute from his own, as well as others' subjects, all his vassals living to no other design, but of killing and dying at his direction; and to secure them of the continuance of this trade, the Christians not deemed sufficient, his fellow Mahomedans (if they do but differ from him in the question of "Who is the right successor of their great Prophet—" and affirm Hali to be the man) become as unsufferable enemies, as lawful prize, as necessary to be invaded and overrun with his hosts of locusts, as any. And all this while no news of the one design, and business of power and dominion, distribution of justice to others, or examples of it in himself: as if all the rest of the world, but he that hath the luck to strangle his brethren, were born to no other purposes, but those of the gladiators in the Roman theatre, only to fight and die with their heart-blood, yea and their souls also, to minister to his ambitions, or rages, or frantic devotions, paid to his sanguinary Prophet; to pass through the fire

to this Moloch, to run like mad dogs through the world, sowing death wheresoever they come, till at last they fall themselves.

5. And for all this there is certainly no other account to be given, but that the dragon, the old serpent, the Devil and Satan, being, according to prediction, let loose for a time, this their epileptic prophet was pitched on for his general, entertained, and inspired by him, to prescribe this course for the prosperous managing of those battles, which are mentioned, Rev. xx. 8. And accordingly it hath succeeded.

6. But that in the polity of Christ, that real Theocracy, wherein God personally and visibly descended to settle (and to preside in) it Himself, the fundamentals whereof were laid in a grand pacification betwixt earth and Heaven, the statute-laws first and last (the Old and the New Commandment) the very same, for our loving one another, and the whole body or codex most exactly conformable; first peace, then mercy, then patience, and long-suffering, then bowels of compassion,

loving and laying down the life, a tribute of that love, extending to affections, to actions, toward brethren, toward strangers, towards enemies—both our own and God's enemies—toward heathens, toward all mankind, never projecting other contentions or victories, but that one of abounding in goodness, and overcoming evil with good: that, I say, in a government thus established upon such principles and by such rules as these, there should yet be so much of the contrary temper, nothing but wars and fightings among Christians, eternal feuds among children of peace, that the whole host of Angels of light should transform themselves into legions of darkness; that the Mahomedan, that is otherwise impregnable, should be only thus conquered by the Christian, that this hath more wars a managing than he, and those wars more cruel, reaching to the soul, anathematizing of brethren, casting out the Greek Church, the whole East, for heretics, upon no other quarrel but the *Filioque*; and a great part of the West (without pretence of any word in the old Creeds) for not

accepting the Trent Articles, or differing with them about their one monarchic successor of our great Prophet: that all religion should be placed in the belief of those doctrines, which if they were true, are no least part of the Christian faith: that all those things, whereon certainly our eternal state depends, Judgment, and Mercy, and Faith, should, by consent of parties, be left out of the scheme; little or none of our zeal laid out on them, or for them, but all misspent on that, which is not bread, that brings no vital nourishment to any. Lastly, That those that rebuke tyranny, and bitterness in others, under no meaner a charge than that of Antichristianism, should out-go all these patterns themselves, proclaim liberty to the captive, to get the cross off from their own shoulders; and when they have done so, enslave, and bind it fast on the shoulders of all others, and (after all these contradictions both to religion, and reason, and but ingenuous nature, to the goodness and joyfulness of brethren's living together in unity) men that are guilty of all these, proclaim God the in-

spirer or favourer of all, transform the Prince of Peace into the inciter, or friend of confusion. These are a whole chaos of prodigies, a landscape of wild appearances, above all that the African merchants, or *Scriptores Mirabilium* have ever furnished us with, and yet make up but a part of those monsters and fish-heads, which adorn our maps of Europe at this day.

7. And then what armies of votaries can be sufficient to keep off that wrath of God, that threatens no less than all Christendom, for that one unchristian piece of her temper; what floods and rivers of tears, to slake the rage of this one sin, which is more probable, than all the powers of darkness beside, to bring it low to the *πύλαι ἄδου*, which yet we have assurance shall never wholly prevail against it.

8. How can we at such a vacancy as this, be more profitably employed, than in learning and practising our postures in this sacred militia, in wrestling and combating with Heaven for this one blessing, this comprehensive donative, this grace beyond all other

graces^k ("the greatest of these is charity"), this duty above all other duties ("above all things have fervent charity among yourselves^l"), this utmost pitch of celestial joy, this divinity itself (God is love, and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him), the blessing of Catholic unity, universal peace; and with Jacob never give over the combat, till we have prevailed with God for this blessing.

A Form of Prayer to this purpose the reader will find at the end of the Treatise of Fundamentals.

9. And that it may not be *ἀνεύργητος εὐχή*, in Hierocles, or *Muliebre supplicium*, in Portius Cato^m, an *unactive prayer*, or *womanish supplication*, that our hearts and hands, our utmost endeavours may herein be semblable to our tongues and prayers, it is very much our duty first to cleanse our own hearts from every degree of this pollution, not

^k 1 Cor. xiii. 13.

^l 1 Pet. iv. 8.

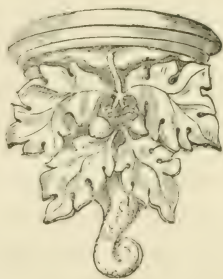
^m Salust.

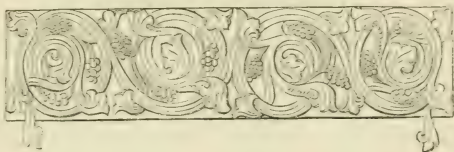
to leave alive in us one animosity either to any person, or society, or portion of Christians in the world, to resolve with the Fathers in their dealing with the Donatists, that those shall be our brethren, which will not admit us to be their brethren, and according to this beginning, to set out industriously, and indefatigably, in the ways of peace, every man to contribute his *symbolum* toward so good a work, and every man, as God shall enable him, to do it freely and cheerfully (for in nothing more than in this doth God love the cheerful giver).

10. And would we but take the Apostles' counsel herein, ^νφιλοτιμεῖσθαι ἡσυχάζειν, be as emulous and ambitious, and as zealously solicitous in our contention for quiet (*i. e.* never contend with any but the implacable and unreconcilable) as the most passionate broiler or *boutefeu* is wont to be for his *μῆλον ἔριδος*, his *beloved strife and contention*, that brings him in no other reward but blows and woe, a Tophet here, and a hell hereafter, I should not doubt

^ν 1 Thess. iv. 11.

but some valuable contribution might be made to this sacred treasury at this time by the poor widow Church of England, with her few mites: which if they cannot hope for thanks from men, have yet a full assurance of being not despised nor unrewarded by Him, Who still "sits looking what is cast into the treasury."





SECT. V.

THIRDLY, FREQUENCY OF SYNAXES.

1. IT is not my purpose to enumerate all the several parts of duty, which this season exacts from us. Yet one must not be omitted, which in such times the Apostle very diligently warns us of, that of the *μὴ ἐγκαταλείπειν τὴν ἐπισυναγωγὴν ἡμῶν*, *not giving over the assembling ourselves together*^o, as oft as we can gain opportunities for them, holding up the Synaxes, how thin soever they are fain to be.

2. And this in reason now more zealously and ^pfrequently than ever, for that I conceive

^o Heb. x. 25.

^p Σπουδάζετε οὖν πυκνότερον συνέρχεσθαι εἰς εὐχαριστίαν θεοῦ, καὶ δόξαν, ὅτ' ἂν γὰρ συνεχῶς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γένησθε, καθαιρούνται αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ Σατανᾶ, καὶ λύεται

some part of the design and importance of the Apostle's addition there, ἀλλὰ παρακαλοῦντες, but "calling upon one another," minding of the necessity and benefit of this duty. And though the ensuing [καὶ τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον, *by so much the more*] be there expressly founded on the approach of their expected deliverance, yet among the primitive Christians the continual expectations of their dangers appears to have

ὁ ὕλεθρος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως. Ignat. Ep. ad Ephes. 813. Ἀφόρητα τὴν Ἀσίαν κατέλαβε κακὰ, καὶ ἐτέρας δὲ πόλεις καὶ ἐκκλησίας ἅπερ ἀφιεῖς τὸ καθ' ἑκαστον λέγειν, ἐκείνο μόνον ἐρῶ, ὅτι εὐχῶν πόλλων χρεία, καὶ δεήσεων ἐκτενω Chrysost. Ep. ρμέ. Constantio Presb. tom. vii. p. 171. ed. Sav. [Ep. 85. tom. iii. p. 721. D. ed Ben.] Εὐχῶν μόνον τὰ παρόντα δεῖται πράγματα, καὶ εὐχῶν μάλιστα τῶν ὑμετέρων, τῶν πολλὴν πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν παρρησίαν κεκτημένων. Μὴ διαλίπητε τοῦτο ἐκτενωσ ποιοῦντες. Id. Ep. Moysæ, tom. vii. p. 180. [Ep. 92. tom. iii. p. 641. D.] Sic et Ep. Pænio, tom. vii. p. 185. [Ep. 220. tom. iii. p. 721. D.] Λαυθάνοντες καὶ κρυπτόμενοι πλείονα σκολὴν ἔχετε νῦν προσκαρτερεῖν ταῖς εὐχαῖς—μὴ διαλίπητε οὖν τοῦτο ποιοῦντες. p. 186. lib. 3. There is nothing fitter for suffering Churchmen's turns, than those Epistles of St. Chrysostom to Olympias and others, to be meditated on, for the fortifying of themselves, and for their direction and consolation.

had the same effect, putting them upon their constant "daily Synaxes, as not knowing how long they should live to enjoy them.

3. The quality of the sin, and the judgment that is there threatened to those that voluntarily neglect such opportunities, is very considerable. It is there, First, set opposite to "holding fast the profession of our hope^r" and so is itself a degree of renouncing the Christian's anchor, a wavering (as is implied in the ἀκλινῆ^s), and "a drawing back^t," and that noted to be very dangerous and destructive. And accordingly we see in Pliny^u, that they, who quitted the *hetæriæ* upon the Emperor's prohibitions, were by the Heathen inquisitors thought capable of

^p In periculo—Grex omnis in unum congregetur—ut quos excitamus ad prælium, non inermes et nudos relinquamus, sed protectione sanguinis et corporis Christi muniamus—Cypr. Ep. 54. Quotidie calicem sanguinis Christi bibere, ut possint et ipsi propter Christum sanguinem fundere. Id. Ep. 56.

^r Verse 23.

^s Verse 23.

^t Verse 39.

^u Affirmabant hanc fuisse summam culpæ suæ, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire—quod ipsum facere desissent post edictum meum, quo secundum mandata tua hetærias esse vetueram ... Dilata cognitione ad consulendum te decurri. Plin. lib. x. Ep. 97.

mercy, as well as they that denied Christ. Secondly, It is there included in the number of the ἐκούσια, the *voluntary* or *wilful sins*, in them (I must suppose he meant) who having the opportunities, whether more or less public, wholly withdrew from them. Thirdly, It goes for an ὑπεναντίωσις^x, a branch of secret contrariety to God and piety, a preferring the world before either. Fourthly, It is of the nature of those sins for which there remains no sacrifice, and hath its part in those other aggravations, and fearful expectations that there follow in that text.

4. The obligation that the primitive Christians conceived themselves under, in this respect, is visible by the frequent mention of those *hetæriæ*, and *antelucani conventus*, and *cryptæ arenariæ*, *meetings in upper rooms, in suburbs, in prisons*—in times of the Heathen persecutors. And so also when heresy or schism, prevailed and drove the Orthodox obedient maintainers of Catholic truth and peace, out of the Churches. For though in

^x Verse 27.

these cases they abstained from the public assemblies, and indeed thought it strict duty to do so : (The epistle of St. Basil^y and others to the Bishops in Italy, and France, and St. Hilary's dissuasives in the former, that of prosperous Heresy, and the practice of ^zholy men in the case of St. Chrysostom's deposition, doth, for the latter, make that clear) yet the assembling of the Orthodox, and the more ^aprivate offices were not to be neglected. And

† Φεύγουσι τοὺς εὐκτηρίους οἴκους οἱ ὑγιαίνοντες τῶν λαῶν ὡς ἀσεβείας διδασκαλεία, &c. Tom. iii. Ep. 92. p. 185. ed. Ben. See also Baronius, An. Ch. 370. n. 20. from some additions to S Basil, Ep. 11. Malè vos parietum amor cepit malè Ecclesiam Dei in tectis ædificiisque veneramini, malè sub his pacis nomen ingeritis—Hilar. contr. Arian. et Auxent. in fine, Edit. Ben. 1269.

z Vide Georg. Alexandrin. vit. Chrysost. Eton. Edit. tom. viii. p. 239. l. 15. &c. and p. 241. l. 13. &c. Et Chrysost. Epist πὲ. tom. vii. p. 139. l. 1. &c. Et Ep. ρμγ. p. 170. l. 44. Et Ep. ροστ. p. 185. l. 8.

a Montes mihi, et sylvæ, et lacus, et carceres, et voragines sunt tutiores. In his enim prophetæ aut manentes aut demersi. Dei spiritu prophetabant. Hilar. Ibid. p. 1269. Ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς δεσμωτηρίοις οἰκοῦντες, τῆς ἐγχειρισθείσης αὐτοῖς οἰκονομίας οὐκ ἀφίσταντο· ἀλλ' ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος καὶ δεσμωτήριον οἰκῶν—ἐμυσταγῶγει ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ,

^bSt. Cyprian, that advises the prudent and cautious managery of such, doth it expressly on this design, that they might be more sure not to be kept from them.

5. Ecclesiastical History is full of this kind of matter; take one for all set down by ^cEusebius from the epistles of Dionysius concerning the persecution in Valerian's time, and ^dÆmilianus's Edict, and the ^eChristians' constant practice.

&c. Chrysost. Ep. ρμστ. Constantio, tom. vii. p. 172. [Ep. 225. tom. iii. p. 724. C.] Κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἐρημίας πρὸς τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς δεσπότην μετὰ στεναγμῶν καὶ δακρύων τὰς χεῖρας αἵρουσιν. Basil. Ep. 92. Ibid.

^b Cautè hoc, et non glomeratim, nec per multitudinem simul junctam puto esse faciendum, ne ex hoc ipso invidia concitetur, et introeundi aditus denegetur, et dum insatiabiles totum volumus, totum perdamus. Consulite ergo et providete, ut cum temperamento hoc agi tutius possit. Ep. 4.

• Eccl. Hist l. 7. κέφ. ια'.

^d Οὐδαμῶς ἐξέσται οὔτε ὑμῖν οὔτε ἄλλοις τισὶν ἢ συνόδους ποιεῖσθαι, ἢ εἰς τὰ καλούμενα κοιμητήρια εἰσιέναι, εἶδε τις . . . ἐν συναγωγῇ τινι εὐρεθείη, ἑαυτῷ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐπαρτήσῃ. Ibid. κεφ. ια'.

^e 'Αλλ' οὐδὲ τῆς αἰσθητῆς ἡμεῖς μετὰ τοῦ κυρίου συναγωγῆς ἀπέστημεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει σπουδαιύ-

6. The sum of it is, That the assemblies were never intermitted, but observed *σπουδαιότερον*, *the more diligently and industriously*, and God gave His blessing to it, a greater liberty than they had reason to look for, *ὡς πλατύτερον ἐκκλησιάζειν δύνασθαι*, and many ^fadvantageous opportunities to glorify God under their restraint, many aliens brought home to Heaven by these means.

7. The same good will of Him that dwelleth in the burning but not consuming Bush, Whose power doth so presentiate itself to them that are in afflictions, that it is said ^g*ἐπισκηνοῦν*, *to pitch the tent*, to dwell, as ^hChrist did by His incarnation, upon or among such, as are thus tempted, inspire and inflame with the same pure zeal, and crown with the like successes, all that are now so nearly concerned to transcribe

τερον συνεκρότουν, ὡς συνῶν . . . ἐν δὲ τῇ Κεφροῦ, καὶ πολλὰ συνεδήμησεν ἡμῖν ἐκκλησία. Ibid.

ⁱ Θυρὰν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς ἀνέωξε τοῦ λόγου καὶ—*τίνας οὐκ ὀλίγοι—ἐπέστρεψαν ἐπὶ τον θεόν.* Ibid.

^g 2 Cor. xii. 9.

^h Ἐσκήνωσεν. John i. 14.

their copy, to receive benefit by this Exhortatory.

“Now the God of all grace Who hath called us to His eternal glory by Christ Jesus, after that ye have suffered a while, ⁱ Himself restore you, stablsh, strengthen, settle you.”

i Αὐτὸς καταρτίσαι.

Zeph. iii. 18.

I will gather them that are sorrowful for the solemn assembly, who are of thee, to whom the reproach of it was a burden.



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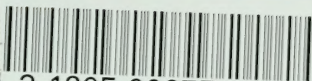
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